PUBLICATIONS
OF THE
NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL COMMISSION
BULLETIN No. 23

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

EIGHTEENTH ANNUAL SESSION

OF THE

State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina

This book must
not be taken
from the building

RALEIGH
November 20-21, 1917

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Compiled by
R. D. W. CONNOR
Secretary

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The North Carolina Historical Commission

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PURPOSES OF THE STATE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

"The collection, preservation, production, and dissemination of State literature and history;

"The encouragement of public and school libraries;

"The establishment of an historical museum;

"The inculcation of a literary spirit among our people;

"The correction of printed misrepresentations concerning North Carolina; and,

"The engendering of an intelligent, healthy State pride in the rising generations."

ELIGIBILITY TO MEMBERSHIP—MEMBERSHIP DUES

All persons interested in its purposes are invited to become members of the Association. There are two classes of members: "Regular Members," paying one dollar a year, and "Sustaining Members," paying five dollars a year.

RECORD OF THE STATE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

(Organized October, 1900)

Fiscal Years	*Presidents*	*Secretaries*	*Paid-up Membership*
1900-1901	Walter Clark	Alex. J. Feild	150
1901-1902	Henry G. Connor	Alex. J. Feild	139
1902-1903	W. L. Poteat	George S. Fraps	73
1903-1904	C. Alphonso Smith	Clarence Poe	127
1904-1905	Robert W. Winston	Clarence Poe	109
1905-1906	Charles B. Aycock	Clarence Poe	185
1906-1907	W. D. Pruden	Clarence Poe	301
1907-1908	Robert Bingham	Clarence Poe	273
1908-1909	Junius Davis	Clarence Poe	311
1909-1910	Platt D. Walker	Clarence Poe	440
1910-1911	Edward K. Graham	Clarence Poe	425
1911-1912	R. D. W. Connor	Clarence Poe	479
1912-1913	W. P. Few	R. D. W. Connor	476
1913-1914	Archibald Henderson	R. D. W. Connor	435
1914-1915	Clarence Poe	R. D. W. Connor	412
1915-1916	Howard E. Rondthaler	R. D. W. Connor	501
1916-1917	H. A. London	R. D. W. Connor	521
1917-1918	James Sprunt	R. D. W. Connor	453

THE PATTERSON MEMORIAL CUP

The Conditions of Award Officially Set Forth by Mrs. Patterson

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To the President and Executive Committee of the Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina:

As a memorial to my father, and with a view to stimulating effort among the writers of North Carolina, and to awaken among the people of the State an interest in their own literature, I desire to present to your Society a loving cup upon the following stipulations, which I trust will meet with your approval, and will be found to be just and practicable:

1. The cup will be known as the "William Houston Patterson Memorial Cup."

2. It will be awarded at each annual meeting of your Association for ten successive years, beginning with October, 1905.

3. It will be given to that resident of the State who during the twelve months from September 1st of the previous year to September 1st of the year of the award has displayed, either in prose or poetry, without regard to its length, the greatest excellence and the highest literary skill and genius. The work must be published during the said twelve months, and no manuscript nor any unpublished writings will be considered.

4. The name of the successful competitor will be engraved upon the cup, with the date of award, and it will remain in his possession until October 1st of the following year, when it shall be returned to the Treasurer of the Association, to be by him held in trust until the new award of your annual meeting that month. It will become the permanent possession of the one winning it oftenest during the ten years, provided he shall have won it three times. Should no one, at the expiration of that period, have won it so often, the competition shall continue until that result is reached. The names of only those competitors who shall be living at the time of the final award shall be considered in the permanent disposition of the cup.

5. The Board of Award shall consist of the President of the Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina, who will act as chairman, and of the occupants of the Chairs of English Literature at the University of North Carolina, at Davidson College, at Wake Forest College, and at the State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts at Raleigh, and of the Chairs of History at the University of North Carolina and at Trinity College.

6. If any of these gentlemen should decline or be unable to serve, their successors shall be appointed by the remaining members of the Board, and these appointees may act for the whole unexpired term or for a shorter time, as the Board may determine. Notice of the inability of any member to act must be given at the beginning of the year during which he declines to serve, so that there may be a full committee during the entire term of each year.

7. The publication of a member of the Board will be considered and passed upon in the same manner as that of any other writer.

MRS. J. LINDSAY PATTERSON.

SUPPLEMENTARY RESOLUTION

According to a resolution adopted at the 1908 session of the Literary and Historical Association, it is also provided that no author desiring to have his work considered in connection with the award of the cup shall communicate with any member of the committee, either personally or through a representative. Books or other publications to be considered, together with any communications regarding them, must be sent to the Secretary of the Association and by him presented to the chairman of the committee for consideration.

AWARDS OF THE PATTERSON MEMORIAL CUP

1905—John Charles McNeill, for poems later reprinted in book form as "Songs, Merry and Sad."
1906—Edwin Mims, for "Life of Sidney Lanier."
1907—Kemp Plummer Battle, for "History of the University of North Carolina."
1908—Samuel A'Court Ashe, for "History of North Carolina."
1909—Clarence Poe, for "A Southerner in Europe."
1910—R. D. W. Connor, for "Cornelius Harnett: An Essay in North Carolina History."
1911—Archibald Henderson, for "George Bernard Shaw: His Life and Works."
1912—Clarence Poe, for "Where Half the World is Waking Up."
1913—Horace Kephart, for "Our Southern Highlanders."
1914—J. G. deR. Hamilton, for "Reconstruction in North Carolina."
1915—William Louis Poteat, for "The New Peace."
1916—No award.
1917—Mrs. Olive Tilford Dargan, for "The Cycle's Rim."

WHAT THE ASSOCIATION HAS ACCOMPLISHED FOR THE STATE—SUCCESSFUL MOVEMENTS INAUGURATED BY IT

1. Rural libraries.
2. "North Carolina Day" in the schools.
3. The North Carolina Historical Commission.
4. Vance statue in Statuary Hall.
5. Fire-proof State Library Building and Hall of Records.
6. Civil War battle-fields marked to show North Carolina's record.
7. North Carolina's war record defended and war claims vindicated.
8. Patterson Memorial Cup.

STATE ART COMMISSION

At the session of the Association in 1915 a committee was appointed to report to the session of 1916 on the advisability of the State's creating a State Art Commission. The committee reported the proposal favorably, and submitted a proposed bill for that purpose. This bill was approved by the Association. It was introduced in the General Assembly of 1917, but failed of passage. It will again be introduced in 1919. In the meantime the Literary and Historical Association will undertake to create sufficient sentiment for the measure to insure its success.

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MINUTES OF THE EIGHTEENTH SESSION

RALEIGH, NOVEMBER 20-21, 1917

Tuesday Evening, November 20th

The Eighteenth Annual Session of the State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina was called to order in the auditorium of Meredith College, Raleigh, N. C., Tuesday evening, November 20, 1917, at 8:30 o'clock, with President London in the chair. After a few opening remarks congratulating the Association upon its successful work in the past, President London presented Dr. D. H. Hill, who delivered an address on "Historical Parallels." Following Dr. Hill's address, Dr. Paul B. Barringer read an interesting paper on "The Influence of Peculiar Conditions in the Early History of North Carolina." At the conclusion of Dr. Barringer's paper the Secretary of the Association announced the award of the Patterson Memorial Cup for the year, as follows:

A year ago, when it was announced from this platform that the Patterson Memorial Cup Committee had not found any literary production by a resident of North Carolina to the author of which it could award the cup for the year 1916, there was a distinct feeling of disappointment on the part of the members of this Association. This year the committee has found no such difficulty. Its difficulty has been in arriving at a decision between several works of more than usual merit. It is interesting to know that after a lapse of a decade since the honor was conferred on the lamented John Charles McNeill for poems later reprinted in book form as "Songs Merry and Sad," during which time history and biography have held the field, poetry again comes forward to claim its own. It is an even more interesting fact that for the first time since a generous impulse inspired a noble North Carolina woman to establish this beautiful memorial, the honor has been won by a woman. In behalf of the committee, I announce the award of the Patterson Memorial Cup for the year 1917-18 to Olive Tilford Dargan for her volume of sonnets published under the title of "The Cycle's Rim."

Mrs. Dargan's work has attracted wide and favorable notice from the critics of the country, and recently it was awarded the New York Southern Society's prize of $500, as the best literary work published by a Southerner

during the past year. In connection with this award, the *New York Times* Book Review published the following biographical information relative to Mrs. Dargan:

"Mrs. Olive Tilford Dargan was born in Crayson County, Kentucky, the daughter of Elisha Francis and Rebecca Tilford. She went to the public schools of the district, in which her father and mother were continuously teachers, until she was ten years old. Then, with her parents, she moved to the town of Doniphan, Mo., where she remained for four years. At the age of fourteen she became a teacher in the backwoods of Arkansas. When she was eighteen years old her mother died, and with her father, who was an invalid, she returned to Kentucky. She soon after obtained a Peabody scholarship, which took her to the University of Nashville, Tenn. Two years later she was graduated from that institution, and went back to teaching in Missouri and also in Texas. She spent the year 1894 at Radcliffe College, Cambridge, Mass., in the study of English and philosophy. After leaving college she taught at the Acadia Seminary at Wolfville, Nova Scotia, and later worked as a stenographer in Boston until her marriage to Pegram Dargan of South Carolina, whom she had met as a student at Harvard while she was at Radcliffe. The literary work which won for her the prize offered by the New York Southern Society is a volume of sonnets, 'The Cycle's Rim,' which is published by Charles Scribner's Sons. Her other publications are 'Semiramis and Other Plays,' 'Lords and Lovers, and Other Dramas,' 'The Mortal Gods,' and 'The Path Flamer and Other Verses.' She has also been a frequent contributor to the magazines. Her home is at Almond, N. C."

In a letter to the Secretary of the State Literary and Historical Association expressing her regret that she was unable to attend this session and receive her award in person, Mrs. Dargan wrote:

"To my deep regret, I must say that I cannot be with you. My want of health makes it temporarily necessary for me to forego all social activity. I should particularly prize the privilege of meeting so many interesting compatriots, and trust that time and circumstances will not always be so tyrannical with me. . . .

"My adopted State is dear to me, and there will never come a day when my heart will not stir proudly over any honor touching her. It was love of beauty that led me, twelve years ago, to her mountains and filled me with the desire to make my home there. And though that home has had only partial realization, it still has a lovely and complete existence in my dreams. I enclose copy of a poem published in the October *Bookman* which commemorates a beloved spot within Carolina's borders."

The poem referred to is entitled "Fatherland"; a copy autographed by Mrs. Dargan is preserved in the North Carolina authors' case in the Hall of History.

The musical program of the evening was rendered by Mrs. E. M. Hall, Miss Helen Marie Day, and Mr. J. P. Brawley.

An interesting additional feature to the program as published was an address by Mr. A. C. McClure on "Obstacles to Peace."

WEDNESDAY MORNING, NOVEMBER 21ST

The Association was called to order in the hall of the House of Representatives by President London, at 10 o'clock. The President presented Dr. Edgar W. Knight, Superintendent of the Public Schools of Wake County, who read a paper on "The Influence of the Civil War on Public Education in North Carolina." Dr. Knight was followed by

Dr. William H. Glasson of Trinity College, who presented a paper on "The South's Pension and Relief Provisions for the Soldiers of the Confederacy." Mr. E. Vernon Howell, of the University of North Carolina, followed Dr. Glasson with a paper entitled "Medical and Pharmaceutical Conditions in the Confederacy." Following these papers were reports on the work of the North Carolina Historical Commission during the past year, by R. D. W. Connor, Secretary; the work of the North Carolina State Library, by A. J. Feild, State Librarian; the work of the North Carolina State Library Commission, by Mrs. E. R. Blanton, Secretary.

The President appointed a nominating committee consisting of Messrs. R. B. Drane, J. Bryan Grimes, A. J. Feild, Mrs. Marshall Williams, and Miss Mary Shannon Smith.

Wednesday Afternoon, November 21st

The session was called to order by Major London in the hall of the House of Representatives at 3 o'clock. Papers were presented as follows: "Raising, Organization, and Equipment of North Carolina's Troops During the Civil War," by Chief Justice Walter Clark; "North Carolina Bibliography, 1916-17," by Mrs. E. R. Blanton, Secretary of the North Carolina State Library Commission.

The following resolutions were offered and adopted:

Resolved, That the President of the State Literary and Historical Association be authorized to appoint a committee from the Association to attend the unveiling of the markers to Generals Stephen D. Ramseur and J. Johnston Pettigrew near Winchester, Va., which are to be erected by the North Carolina Historical Commission and the North Carolina Division of United Daughters of the Confederacy.

Resolved, That a committee of three be appointed to select a suitable design to be worn by members of the State Literary and Historical Association during their annual sessions.

Resolved, That a committee of five be appointed by the President to petition the General Assembly of 1919 for an increase in the annual appropriation to the State Library for the purchase of books from $500 to $1,500.

Resolved, That the Secretary be instructed to express to the authorities of Meredith College the thanks of the members of the State Literary and Historical Association for the use of their auditorium and for their numerous courtesies extended to the Association.

The Nominating Committee returned the following nominations for the year 1917-18: James Sprunt, President; Miss Mary O. Graham, First Vice-President; C. C. Pearson, Second Vice-President; Miss Carrie Jackson, Third Vice-President; R. D. W. Connor, Secretary-Treasurer.

The report of the Nominating Committee was unanimously adopted.

WEDNESDAY EVENING, NOVEMBER 21ST

President London called the Association to order at 8:30 o'clock in the auditorium of Meredith College. Following a violin solo by Miss Charlotte Ruegger, accompanied by Miss Helen Marie Day, President Rondthaler presented Dr. Gaillard Hunt, who read a paper on "Reminiscences of the Secretaries of State." After Dr. Hunt's address the Association adjourned *sine die.*

Following the adjournment, a reception was tendered the Association and their guests at the Governor's Mansion.

ADDRESSES

The Influence of Peculiar Conditions in the Early History of North Carolina

By Paul B. Barringer

If the United States has been "the world's melting-pot," the Old North State has been its southeast corner, proverbially the hottest point, for she furnishes the best melted and most homogenous alloy in the crucible. With well over two millions of people, the census gives her less than 1 per cent of foreign born—less than any other State, and making her the largest homogenous body of English-speaking people on this continent. This fact, at one time noted merely as an item of curiosity in the census reports, now assumes decided importance, as an ideal condition, a status to be striven for, an example to be followed. In this our day of great national trial and danger, if it could be said of every State in this Union that it contained over 99 per cent of native-born Americans, how our problems would be simplified, our anxiety relieved, and the completion of our task assured! To those familiar with the peculiar early history of North Carolina and with the heterogeneous racial elements that originally went into this pot, the final alloy is indeed a marvel. I know of no other subject in American history that presents so wide a range of causes or one of more interest. Throughout it all, however, one thing stands out: it was stress rather than time that was the blending agent, for while the first attempt at a settlement in the eastern United States was made here, the State was among the very last to be really settled. The reasons for this long delay in settlement, and the other conditions which have so thoroughly blended her composite early population and the results upon the State today, will be the aim of this paper.

We all know now that, measured in terms of modern commerce, North Carolina has been endowed by nature with few or none of the things that make for commercial supremacy. She was given neither coal nor iron, oil nor gas, no great special staple, no open roadstead to foster commerce, and no neighbors sufficiently rich and populous to give either a great market or a large unearned increment through mere propinquity. Providence put her at the right place on the map, gave her a fair soil, a good climate, and a proper rainfall, a small specimen of nearly everything on earth, and then—quit. It has long been our boast that North Caro-

lina could fill out more blanks in the census reports than any other state; and no doubt she can, but if she wants any of the real essentials, in commercial quantities, she has to import them. She has of recent years gone quite largely into spinning—and she has to import cotton for that. The plain truth is, that North Carolina's one great gift, from Providence, has been her people—the exceptionally high quality of her original settlers and the unbroken adversity, for years, that taught them to make the most of their opportunities. She has won success along many lines, but in no instance has this been due to a monopoly of raw material, or other natural resources, so much as to the energy and resourcefulness of her native-born sons.

In spite of the uniformity of type now existing in North Carolina, the first settlers of that State were not of one race, but represented all the colonizing races of that date. That which has happened to the northern and western states of the United States in the last half-century happened in North Carolina in the very beginning of her history; and few states have had as large a percentage of foreigners as North Carolina had in the earlier years of the eighteenth century. Almost every dominant race in Europe gave its share, but there was none of the Mediterranean blood that has marked our immigration tide in recent years. There were the Virginia English that came down the Chowan, the scattered remnants of the New England and Barbadoes English that at one time sojourned on the lower Cape Fear, and between these widely separated English settlements were a small colony of French on the Pamlico, colonies of Swiss and Palatine Germans on the Neuse and Trent, both highland and lowland Scotch on the upper Cape Fear, and a large colony of German Moravians on the hills of Forsyth. From the date of the first settler's deed on the Chowan (1653) to the Moravian settlement at Wachovia (1753) was just one hundred years, and since that date, i. e., for over one hundred and fifty years, North Carolina has grown almost solely by internal multiplication.

These early settlers had but two things in common. Although we find them here on a flat coastal plain, all were originally of mountain stock, and they nearly all came to this wilderness because of fixed objections to the status of political and religious freedom at home—that is, they came from moral conviction. They wanted liberty of thought and action earnestly enough to risk the dangers of the sea and the wilderness, and to accept an environment utterly at variance with their racial traditions, to obtain it. Each sought his ideal of liberty, and as their ideas differed, they naturally had to fight it out, and this gave a reputation for turbulence that was really unwarranted. Saxon, Teuton, and Celt—all fighting stock, they strove within themselves for a common end, and

in time they worked it out. Bancroft, with the broad training of the best European universities, saw in this struggle a wonderful example of man's inherent capacity for self-government, while Fiske, never out of the shadow of the old New England theocratic traditions, saw only the struggle, and not the end aimed for, and deemed it mere disorder, rebellion against the established order.

Up to the time of the transfer to the crown (1729), the foreign element could not have been less than a third of the whole, yet the Saxon powers of absorption, so manifest in the country later, were there then in full force. It is a singular fact that not one trace of Roman law or of continental procedure is to be found in the early laws of North Carolina. They absorbed and transformed even the names of the foreign element, and the marks they put upon them will abide for all time. But a century or more has passed, and even now it taxes the philologist to tell what these names really were.

While the lack of coal, iron, etc., is of course felt today, their lack was not felt then. North Carolina was considered as rich a state as any, and this but adds to the mystery of nonsettlement. With the glowing accounts of this region by Amidas, Hariot, etc., in circulation in Europe, with colonists sailing daily for Virginia, Maryland, New York, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Massachusetts, why was it nearly one hundred years before a single permanent settler was landed by ship on this coast, the "paradise" of 1585? In the twenty years following the settlement of Jamestown, nearly ten thousand colonists passed into Chesapeake Bay, not forty leagues to the north, yet not one ship landed a passenger on this coast. In 1660, seventy-five-years after White's colony had been lost, some ships from New England sailed up the Cape Fear and landed a colony on the south bank, but in three years they were gone. Again, in 1664, a colony from the English settlements in Barbadoes moved to this river and found nothing of the old colony, except their cattle, and several hundred settlers took up the river front for many miles, and yet in three years they also had departed. When the final settlement of this river was made, in 1731, it was made by men who came from the south, sixty-five years after the first attempt. In fact, all the coastal rivers of North Carolina were of so little use that, although the settlements were made on their banks, they were settled from above down, instead of from the coast up, as in every other colony. More strange still, colonists leaving Europe for these shores, as the Swiss and Palatines, came first to Virginia and then by a toilsome overland journey, back almost to within sight of the sea they had sailed. I have no doubt this strange fact has interested others besides myself, yet I have never seen an attempt at an explanation.

I have always looked upon it as in some way connected with this coast, but I find many causes, and some of them quite far removed from this coast.

In 1498, less than ten years after Columbus discovered America, a mariner, Sebastian Cabot, sailing under the flag of England, is stated to have sailed down the Carolina coast, "to Florida." I say "stated" because, while the patent for this voyage is on record (given by Hakluyt), no log has ever been found, and the meager reports are much at variance. Francis Lopez de Gomara, a Spaniard, in his history of the West Indies says that Cabot traversed the coast from up in latitude "56° and better" down to "38°." As 38° is about the latitude of the Virginia capes, it could hardly be our Florida. Peter Martyr of England, who most ostentatiously claimed Cabot as "his very friend," says he went down to Cuba, but quotes him as saying that he saw the natives wearing skins and the bears catching fish out of the rivers, which does not sound much like our Cuba. We shall refer to Cabot again in this same connection, but for the present I will only say that he seems to have discussed with Martyr the Gulf Stream as he found it in his "Florida." He intimates that it was not as large as the Spaniards had reported it, and then makes the mental query whether its waters were "driven about the globe of the earth by the movement and impulsion of the heavens" or whether they were "swallowed and cast up again by the breathing of Demogorgon, as some have supposed." It looks as if the first was the belief of the quarter-deck and the last was "supposed" in the forecastle. Whether Cabot went to Cuba or not, this soliloquy proves that sailors were even at this early date (1498) already beginning to ponder that mighty force which they were soon to use, with fear and trembling, to aid their puny sails.

In these days of a Pedagogue President, it is a pleasure to refer to any broad-minded teacher, and especially to one like Richard Hakluyt, lecturer on Geography at Oxford. I believe he, more than any one else, was responsible for the turning of Sir Walter Raleigh's thoughts to the south and the cessation of northern exploration. As early as 1582 he brought out the first issue of his work on American exploration, entitled "Divers Voyages Touching the Discovery of America." As his friend and intimate, Raleigh doubtless saw the proofs, or got the very first copies, for in two years after the issue of this work the drift of thought was turned mainly to the south. A large part of Hakluyt's work was the translation, into English, of authentic records of Spanish, Portugese, and French voyages, especially, to Florida, as this whole lower coast was then called. The following extract, from a later preface, has a neo-teutonic touch that we would hardly expect from an Englishman:

"Moreover, because since our wars with Spaine, by the taking of their ships and the sacking of their townes and cities, most of their secrets of the West Indies, and every part thereof, are fallen into our people's hands (which in former times were for the most part unknown to us), I have used the uttermost of my best endeavor to get and, having gotten, to translate out of Spanish, and . . . publish such secrets of theirs as may in any way availe and annoy them." This sounds as if it had come from middle Europe quite recently.

It is certain that both Spanish and French records, of undoubted accuracy, existed for explorations of the Florida coast up as far as latitude 32°; but none came higher, and if Cabot turned east at 38°, off the coast of Virginia, as Peter Martyr states, then the first expedition of Raleigh, under Amidas and Barlowe, touched virgin soil in fact. I have at times wondered if it was not in part the knowledge that this was really virgin land, in spite of her necessary endorsement of Cabot's claims, that prompted this virgin queen, of fifty, to call this land Virginia. The belated endorsement of Cabot, the title of "Grand Pilot of England," and the pension, all fifty years after the event, looks as if some claim of England needed bolstering.

The mystery of the failure to explore this coast is deepened when we consider the fact that years before the Roanoke exploration, as early as 1577, full three hundred ships touched, annually, on the New Foundland shores, for bait and fish, while an equal distance to the south a constant stream of ships passed back and forth from permanent settlements to Spain; between them, in a temperate clime, was a veritable *terra incognita,* or shall we put it, terror incognita?

When Sir Walter Raleigh started his experienced and courageous captains, Amidas and Barlowe, for this unknown land in 1584, they chose the southern or "Spanish route," just as we would expect them to do if they were basing the expedition on knowledge derived from Spanish sources. They left England the 27th of April, reached the Canaries the 10th of May, and from this point set sail with the "trades" for the "West Indies," which they reached the 10th of June. The target at which they aimed, the West Indies, could not be missed, for it was twenty degrees wide, and it was customary for the Spaniards to try and strike Dominica, about the middle of the group, and go up with the aid of the Gulf Stream. Without the loss of the trades, they could have made the north coast of Cuba, as Amidas saw later, but he had been warned of the Gulf Stream, for he says: "keeping a more southeasterly course than was needful, because we doubted that the current of the Bay of Mexico, disbogging between the Cape of Florida and Havana, had been of greater force than we afterwards found it to be." They rested on one of these islands, and

then, taking the Yucatan current, which often moves as high as 120 miles per day, they passed out between Havana and Florida and turned with the stream up the Atlantic coast, saw land on the 4th of July, and landed just inside Ocracoke Inlet on the 13th of that month, 57 days out. They made a wonderfully good survey of the sounds up as far as Roanoke Island, learned much of the country, and then sailing direct to England, reached home the 15th of September following. Their return journey was not quite 3,500 miles, while their outbound voyage could not have been less than 6,500. We have seen, in the quotation above, that Amidas was following a prescribed route on this first voyage, and we can understand the reasons for this route the first time; but why it continued to be followed for over fifty years, both for Roanoke and Jamestown, was at first a mystery. That it was thought necessary was manifest. No sensible captain would take a route that would use up double the rations and water, expose his crew to scurvey and his ships to capture, by the enemy frequenting this route, if it could have been avoided. As we shall see, it was not a question of vogue.

The result of this first voyage was another in less than a year. This, the Lane expedition, sailed April 9, 1585, and reached Carolina on the 28th of June, after a voyage of 66 days, because they also took the southern route. As you know, they remained in Carolina about one year, and then, all agreeing that "the very hand of God was stretched out to take them from that place," they hurriedly sailed, and landed in England the "latter part of the next month," which means the direct route. Their log is a record of arduous labor and constant hunger, punctuated by unexpected storms. The next expedition—the supply expedition for Lane, that came too late—came too late only because it also took the southern route. The ill-fated expedition of White also took this route, and so did every one of the six or more expeditions for the succor and return of his colonists. Further, all the early expeditions of colonization, and supply, for Jamestown took this route, and even Gosnold, who had made a trip to Cape Cod, direct in 1602, by sailing due west, in 49 days, always took the southern route when going to Jamestown.

It is usually believed that the loss of White's colony was due to the disturbances found in England on his return, to the threat of the Spanish Armada. Against this must be set the fact that within less than a year after he left them White was able to start two small vessels to their relief, and while the records about this expedition are not very clear, one thing is clear, and that is that the crews of these vessels did not want to go to Roanoke Island. The second expedition of relief, with Governor White himself in charge, could not be made to stay at Roanoke Island after getting there safe and sound. White the soldier, scholar, and artist, had

left both a daughter and a granddaughter on these wild shores, and yet after a relatively brief examination of the island and contiguous shores, being subjected to continued storm and mishap, he soon agreed with the pleading crew to go back to the Indies to refit and come again; but they went straight to England. Another expedition, of entirely new men, came, cruised along the coast, well south, and never even landed. The next came over, passed around Hatteras, "far out," and landed, to have some men killed by the Indians, and they in turn turned tail and fled. Surely there was something uncanny, and mysterious, in all this—this fear in English seamen who had hitherto dared venture anywhere, in a cockle-shell. It must be recalled also that the spirit of Britain was high; these men had just defeated the Invincible Armada, and under Hawkins, Drake, and Shirley they had harried the Spanish main, just to the south, for years. The real mystery of the lost colony lies in the fact that men could not be gotten to look for them.

If we will turn back a little, to the time of White's outward voyage, we will find that this unusual fear existed even then. While the colonists under Lane described the island on arrival as a "Paradise," they left it thoroughly frightened, and unfortunately the White expedition contained some of the seamen who had been with Amidas, and some with Lane, and one certainly who had been with both. While the White expedition was on its way up the coast one of his captains, who had been on both previous expeditions, deliberately tried to wreck his ship, off the Cape Fear, rather than approach nearer to the dreaded Hatteras. Further, as Raleigh had learned of the open haven of Chesapeake Bay, only some forty leagues to the north, the White colony was bound for that point and not for Roanoke, merely going by Roanoke to pick up the fifteen men left there by Grenville, to hold the soil for the Queen. Upon arrival at Roanoke, however, this same captain conspired with passengers, officers and crew, to force the Governor to locate there and go no further, which he finally agreed to do, as it "booted" him not to contend with them. It has been charged that Fernando was, as a Spaniard, averse to an English settlement here, but as he had come as a member of three expeditions, this claim seems to lack substance.

If we will turn aside for a while to consider what the patent lawyers harp upon as "the state of the art at the time," and analyze the art of navigation then existing, I think a good deal of light will be shed on these Eastern Carolina problems. The heaviest ships in the Spanish Armada were 700 tons, the best English frigates were not over 500 tons, while the ships used in such work as exploration ranged from 50 to at most 200 tons. While the English ships had better lines, and were better rigged, than the Spanish, even they were so poorly designed that 5 knots

was their limit with anything short of a gale, and 3½ to 4 knots was fair sailing. Their instruments of precision were almost as bad as the ships. The compass used was accurate enough, but so poorly understood that in the disposal of anchors, cable, and metal parts of cargo it was often rendered unreliable. The sextant, for the determination of latitude, was extremely good for its looks, and some wonderful work was done with this crude-looking instrument. The chief lack was some method of determining longitude, an absolute essential to safe east and west sailing, and, practically speaking, it did not exist. It was more than a hundred years after the settlement of Jamestown, in the days of Queen Anne, before the great prize of twenty thousand pounds for a practical chronometer was offered, and it was not till the time of George III. that it was won. Till nearly the end of that time all east and west sailing was done by coasting, or else estimating a departure by dead reckoning, and this was one of the main reasons for the long southern route. They could coast down the western Atlantic, to the Canaries, then with a steady constant trade wind, in an ocean free from currents, they could lay for the West Indies, ranged across the line of sight for hundreds of miles, pick up any one of them, and find out where they were, and then coast to their destination. It was plain sailing.

But there was another influence that prescribed the course of the mariner of that day. I have referred to the Yucatan Current, the origin of the Gulf Stream that passes up our Atlantic coast, how it attained a speed of 120 miles per day and how it was used on the southern route to improve progress. For the same reason such a current will, of course, impede progress if one is called upon to go against it, and this was one of the things that so long handicapped our Carolina coast. The Gulf Stream, after turning the point of Florida, makes up the coast with an average speed of five miles an hour; at Hatteras it still has a speed of three miles an hour, and after making the turn out into the broad Atlantic its influence is not lost; the "drift" is still one and a half miles an hour, south of the banks of New Foundland, and even perceptible off the east coast of England. As we saw, Gosnold, who cut through the northern limits of it, was forty-nine days in making the coast of New England, on a 2,800 mile route, while the average time back to England, over a 3,500 mile route, with the stream, was about thirty days. A voyage to Carolina direct, against the stream, was practically impossible with any four-knot ship, and, for lack of any measure of longitude, one could never know whether they were progressing or slipping back. Mariners would take the long southern route in preference.

The first visitors from Barbadoes who came up to inspect the Cape Fear, with an idea to settlement, were much alarmed when in a storm

they were driven off the coast and found themselves "driven by the rapidity of a strong current to Hatteras." It was the Gulf Stream that drew them to Hatteras, and it was this same invisible current of the Atlantic coast that spread terror in the forecastle, when it upset reckonings, or gave unexpected leeway towards a dreaded coast. In my opinion, it was Hatteras, the far-flung headland into the stormy Atlantic, the meeting place of cold arctic and warm gulf waters, the place of rendezvous for fog, storm, and treacherous current, that frightened every mariner that tried to make port, in those days, on the Carolina coast. Steam has robbed it of its terrors, and Maury of its mystery; but its influence on the history of this State can never be forgotten. It was the fear of this storm center and its uncanny powers, as measured by the ships of that day, that left White's colony to slow extinction, that drove the early colonies from the banks of the Cape Fear and sent the European colonists to Virginia and then back, almost to within sound of its breakers. It was a great handicap. It forced a long delay in settlement and a slow development of the State, without commerce and without new blood; but it brought its reward. In this day of the supremacy of the mechanic arts, we may, I think, thank the mythical Demogorgon of Hatteras that North Carolina is a manufacturing state. Their isolation forced upon the trained artisans of her continental contingent the development of new domestic industries and gave initiative, adaptability, and self-reliance to a receptive people.

There is very decided evidence to show that the terrors of Hatteras were supplemented by no little political influence, making safe against the contingency of a defeat by Spain. It seems certain that the determination to drop the Carolina coast colonization, and center on Chesapeake Bay, was dictated more or less by political reasons. I have referred to the fact that White was directed by Sir Walter Raleigh to carry his colony to the Chesapeake, but failed to do so because he could not get his crews to go. It is sometimes stated that Lane's men discovered this great bay, but no record of such a voyage of discovery is mentioned by either Lane or Hariot. Indian tales of a big river to the north, to be reached by going up the Chowan, were heard by Lane's men, but all seems to have been taken with much salt, and yet when the final permanent colony was outfitted it was ordered to the Chesapeake. In 1586 our old friend Richard Hakluyt was in Paris, seemingly engaged in his never-ending search for "secrets" from the Spanish. On December 30, 1586, while Lane was still in Carolina, when he saw that an open rupture with Spain could not be longer averted, he wrote from Paris to Sir Walter Raleigh as follows: "If you proceed, which I long much to know, in your enterprise of Virginia, your best planting will be about the Bay of the Thes-

pians (Chestepians or Chesapeake), to which latitude Peter Martyr and Franciscus Lopez de Gomara, the Spaniard, confess that one Gabot (Cabot) and the English did first discover; which the Spaniards hereafter cannot deny us, whensoever we shall be at peace with them." I found this letter a short while since in Vol. I, page 18, of Brown's "Genesis of the United States," where he copies it from the Calendar of the Clarendon Papers at Oxford. I can find no further reference to this suggestion of Hakluyt's, but none is needed. War was coming on, the Roanoke Island settlement of Lane was on "virgin soil," and, therefore, disputed soil, if Spain won it would be much harder to uphold a claim of this kind than one based on Cabot's well attested "down to 38°." Old Cabot mistook the mouth of the Chesapeake for the Florida channel, and found the outflow of the tide weaker than he had expected; but the sextant read 38° at high noon, and the claim would hold; so Raleigh told White to go to the Chesapeake. What more natural and what less proven? As the Spanish war lasted till 1605, it may be that political forces were behind the other trials that White had to face in getting aid for his lost colony.

But other elements in nature, besides Hatteras and the Gulf Stream, furnished conditions adverse to the early settlement of eastern Carolina. I refer to the broken character of her coastal plain and the peculiar coast line with its fringe of narrow bars and shallow shifting inlets. A study of the geological history of our middle Atlantic coast shows it to be steadily sinking—a constant subsidence, on the Virginia and North Carolina coast, that more than keeps pace with the sedimentary output of their rivers, and prevents the upbuilding of a firm and solid coastal plain. In Virginia the wide drainage area of her rivers, from the valley of the Susquehanna to that of the James, is so great that they are able to keep an outlet to the sea always open. But as the streams that open on the inland waters of North Carolina—the Chowan, Roanoke, Pamlico, and Neuse—are in their aggregate discharge much smaller, they are not strong enough to break wide the bars, and only precarious inlets exist, influenced by every storm. These inlets were used from the very earliest days of the Albemarle settlements, but the trade was not only small, but uncertain, and I know of no better way to accent the paucity of maritime commerce on these shores than to recall the stir made over one of these ships, and the fact that the colonists were willing to lock up a Governor rather than forego a ship. In what other American colony was the going or coming of a ship of such importance? Commerce among themselves by inland waterways, while easy enough, was largely barred by the fact that their products were of such a similar nature.

The passage of the Royal Navigation Act, of Charles II., was just about coincident with the arrival of the first settlers on the Chowan, and the eye of authority was not open to their trade, with New England and Barbadoes, for some time; but when this act was really applied it practically broke up the maritime trade on the Carolina coast. A few ships a year that brought whatever of luxuries the well-to-do could afford, and the necessities, like powder, lead, etc., for the people, were all that would come in, after the New England trade was curtailed by the prohibition of direct trade between the colonies. This canker, of prolonged injustice in trade, made a fine seedbed for the growing spirit of political independence.

Very few people seem to appreciate fully the part played by our American Indian in the formation of our national character. With no wild beasts or serpents of any great potency in our forests, had it not been for the Indian our first settlers would simply have wandered at will over the land, picking out for settlement only the choice spots. They would naturally have drawn around them men of their own kind and speech, and in the place of one homogenous people, such as we see, we would have had a land sprinkled with petty offshoots of the then existing European monarchies, with their traditional enmities in full play. Imagine, if you can, the state of eastern North Carolina with its polyglot tongues and exotic feuds. But the red man prevented all this; he was the fuel of the early melting-pot. He was a savage, but a man for all that, and the American race is what it is chiefly because he forced it to line up and fight, shoulder to shoulder, from coast to coast, a ceaseless, ever-advancing firing line. In this line were many races of white men, and many a tribe of Indians, and it is one of my conceits that the ultimate manhood of the people in any section of that line was largely dependent upon the prowess of the Indian they faced. Judged by this standard, the people of eastern North Carolina had good training, for the Indians of that State were foes of unusual prowess and stamina.

Roughly speaking, the Indians of the Carolinas were of three races: the Tuscaroras and the Creeks on the seaboard and the Cherokees in the west. While each consisted of dozens and scores of sub-tribes, the racial traits held fairly true. The six great Indian nations of the Canadian boundary were migratory to the extent that they made it a rule to come south each winter and prey upon the less warlike races of the south. One of these fighting tribes coming south had chosen to remain—the warlike Tuscaroras—and these were the savages that faced the infant colony on the Chowan. Amongst both Indians and whites they were the terror of the south Atlantic coast. It will be recalled that trouble began at Roanoke Island quite early. The Lane expedition killed a

dozen or more, the Grenville men had a fight to a finish, and White had hardly landed when Howe was killed. From that time on the pressure was uninterrupted and firm. The whites managed to keep them, as a rule, above the mouths of the three great rivers, and the lines were clearly drawn. A great bow was thrown around the Carolina colonies, and it was a line seldom crossed. On the whole American frontier, from New Hampshire to Georgia, the white man's line was thinner in North Carolina for the first hundred years after her settlement than at any place on the Atlantic coast, and they faced an Indian second to none, the Tuscarora. But patiently, steadfastly, and boldly they carried the firing line west under the most onerous conditions.

These are, in my opinion, the essential features in the early history of North Carolina that have had a part in shaping the character and the ultimate destiny of its people. Although they were on a vast continent, for many decades they were marooned, by the forces of nature and savage foes, as effectively as if on some island of the sea. They were mountain bred, and they had to adjust themselves to a new and, naturally, uncongenial environment—the lowlands of a coastal plain. Cut off from practically all foreign commerce, by the nature of their coast, and a well-founded fear of its menacing headland, they had to develop a system of domestic manufactures to give them the comforts of civilization. To the ethnologist it has been the field of a great natural experiment. Here the now dominant races of Europe have been blended without the mixture of Mediterranean blood that permeates the north and west. Here we can find a blend of Saxon, Teuton, and Celt, and these alone.

But North Carolina, like the rest of the South, has had another cause for immobility of population. Men from outside the South constantly wonder that we can so often place a man, even to his original county, when we hear his name. This is impossible with them, and it is possible with us merely because many of our families have not moved out of a circle of fifty miles in a hundred and fifty years. A large number from these families have, of course, gone out to build up other states; but even they have carried the home-land idea with them, and they remain "down-homers" to the end of their days. The origin of this stationary family habit in the South has been much discussed, but it seems to me perfectly plain. It is not merely a local peculiarity; it had a local reason. The Indian was not the only inferior race that had a hand in shaping the white man of this country; the negro also has played a part. The reason for the fixity of families in North Carolina, and other parts of the South, was because some son or sons of the family were given land, near the home place, in order to prevent the breaking up of the negro families. The custom was so universal that we forgot the cause, but you will all

recall that it was the slave-owning (the "better") class that stood fast. Moreover, the oldest son of the group, in the home county, was always looked upon as more or less the head of the clan, and his house the home place. This custom gave to the South, of that day, the practical results of a law of primogeniture, and it greatly intensified the home-loving spirit. The insular instincts of the settlers of eastern North Carolina, born of nearly a century of enforced home life, plus the localizing influence of our late unlamented "peculiar institution," has given the State an intensely home-loving people. Should the old State ever adopt an emblem, I would suggest as extremely fitting, the homing pigeon. With these birds the long confinement to a locality, the loft, has given them a strong home instinct, like that of man under similar conditions.

In conclusion, the ideals begotten during the colonial period, in eastern North Carolina, influence the sentiment of the whole State to this day, for the scepter of political control did not pass from the east till long after the formative period was past. The patriarchal system of family government, the wholesome and wholesale respect for the simple life, and horror of all pretence, all came with the firing line from the east. The very fires that afterwards burst into flame in Alamance, and Mecklenburg, had long smouldered on the Chowan; but the spark came with the colonists from distant lands where the flint of injustice had struck hard upon hearts of steel.

Reminiscences of the Secretaries of State

BY GAILLARD HUNT

The French humorist, Edmond About, the man who wrote *The Notary's Nose* and *The Man With the Broken Ear,* somewhere defines diplomacy as the art of tying one's cravat; but Napoleon Bonaparte used to say that a man was a good diplomat according as he lied well. The two views are not inconsistent and, combined, would give us as the perfect diplomat the most skilful and the best dressed liar. But into these Old World ideas of diplomacy we have interjected some definitions of our own. America claims to have created the "shirt-sleeve diplomat," who does not learn the art of tying his cravat because he does not wear a cravat, and whose notions of lying are coarse and primitive, being derived from buying and selling horses. John Adams, in the beginning of our independent existence, gave us another variety. He said he was in favor of our having militia diplomats—volunteers, as it were, who were not drilled in regular tactics and could win victories because they were untrammeled by the rules of diplomatic warfare. Then, jumping over the intervening years, recently we invented something very, very modern and called it "dollar diplomacy." But that is too degrading for an assemblage like this to consider, and I hurry past it with apologies for having noticed it. Then there is "the elegant Lord Shaftesbury's" aphorism to consider. He simply objected to too much truth. I have only one more classification left. Elihu Root said that diplomacy had become a great representative function in the modern world, and that the diplomat should stand for his people as well as his Government; that he should carry the sentiment of one people to greet the sentiment of another people. Now, I think we have got it sufficiently well mixed up. Fops, liars, boors, ignoramuses, sordid materialists, half-liars, representative democrats—stir these to one consistency, and you should have a Secretary of State. And so you would if it were not that all the definitions I have given are false, except Mr. Root's.

From the charge of being a diplomat, however, the Secretary of State cannot escape. Our representatives abroad are his agents and do his bidding, and in Washington he deals directly with foreign diplomats who represent nearly every country in the world. The diplomatic corps in Washington is, in fact, the largest in the world, because all of the Latin American countries as well as the Asiatic and European are represented, and some of the Latin American countries do not maintain missions elsewhere. To deal successfully with the representatives of so

many different nations certainly requires diplomatic qualities. And so does it require diplomatic talent to manage our own representatives in foreign lands and tell them what to say to foreign governments. There is no mystery about this American diplomacy, however, in spite of the belief which some people entertain that secrecy, finesse, and tortuous methods are its characteristic ways. In reality, it is and always has been simple and open in its methods. In treaty-making the Senate participates, and what is known to nearly one hundred men is not long kept secret from the rest of the world. Then, again, the success of a foreign policy depends with us upon popular support, and the public must know what they are asked to approve. Of course, a Secretary of State knows more than he ever tells; but the light of publicity beats upon his department just as it does upon the other departments of the Government.

It must be admitted that our Secretaries of State have not been trained diplomats. Many of them served the country in diplomatic missions before they entered the State Department; but their foreign service never extended over many years and in no case took on a professional complexion. In the sense in which the law, for example, is a profession, there has never been any class of trained diplomats in the United States, and I am of opinion that we are fortunate in having escaped them. The cravat-tying duties of a young man, a secretary in a legation in time of peace, occupy too much of his time and interfere with his development in more serious lines. He learns to dignify trivialities, and his staple of conversation and thought is apt to be small gossip. His duties keep him in foreign countries and he loses touch with the march of events in his own country. He is useful in his office in normal times, but he is not the material out of which men for the larger duties of diplomacy should be chosen. So I am not urging that our Secretaries of State be promoted from the lower ranks of diplomacy. I am sure we get the larger men by taking them from the higher ranks of official and professional life. The man who has served the state in offices of power and honor, the man of affairs accustomed to important negotiations with his fellow-man, trained in responsibility and the exercise of authority, knowing the temper of his people, learned in history and law, determined to guard the safety of his country and ambitious to extend her influence and her glory—there is your real American diplomat; there is your Secretary of State.

The first Secretary of State of the United States was Robert R. Livingston of New York, who held the office with the title of Secretary for Foreign Affairs during the Revolutionary War. As a member of the Continental Congress in 1776 he was on the committee which drew up the

Declaration of Independence, and when the parties formed under the Constitution, he joined the party of the higher ideals and was a follower of Thomas Jefferson. When Jefferson became President of the United States, Livingston thought that the time had arrived when the higher ideals might properly be applied to the foreign relations of the United States. Jefferson had pronounced himself for neutral rights and for peaceful methods in maintaining them, and Livingston wrote to James Madison, Jefferson's Secretary of State, on July 1, 1801, to say that he thought the Administration's views should be made to mark a new departure in international law. "Pedantic compilers," he said, had stated as rules what were really the "predatory practices" of nations at war. They had given little attention to the rights of peaceful neutrals. The champion of those rights must be the United States. He would make treaties with all states to preserve those rights, and the penalty for violating them should be "commercial exclusions." He would, he declared, have America set an example of perfect rectitude of dealing and propose perfect fairness in dealing to all nations. He would have America say to all the world: "A new law I give unto you, that you love one another." Presently Livingston was sent as Minister to France, but the Secretary of State, when he drafted the instructions which were to guide him in his mission, forgot to mention the Golden Rule. He was told, in the most practical way, that he must try to buy from France the island of New Orleans and some of the contiguous territory, as it was absolutely necessary that the United States should have the free use of the Mississippi River to the sea. If France would not sell the land, he was to propose an alliance with Great Britain against France to force it from her by war. But soon after Livingston arrived in Paris, France and England went to war on their own account, and Napoleon proposed to Livingston that he should buy the whole of Louisiana. After some bargaining over the price, Livingston agreed to give $15,000,000 for an empire. Napoleon sold it because he needed the money and thought that he would injure England by increasing the power of the United States. Livingston carried on the negotiations with discretion and skill and according to the rules of the game. I have seen the papers in the case and have looked in vain for any repetition of the ideals he had advanced to Madison before he went to France.

The administrations of Jefferson and Madison were, however, in full accord with Livingston in his idea of substituting "commercial exclusions" for war in international disputes. Madison called these exclusions "commercial weapons," and built hopes that they would take the place of armies and fleets. This was his contribution to the long list of substitutes for war which have been put forward by philanthropists,

statesmen, and philosophers for more than three thousand years. Jefferson and Madison gave their system of commercial weapons a fair trial, but after Madison had become President and Jefferson had retired to private life, Madison threw his system away as a failure and took up the methods which were orthodox and tried. He called upon the Nation to support its rights, as it had won its rights, by the sword, and a war was fought and won. The experiment which he tried has not been repeated, but the idea is not dead, and only a month ago I heard a distinguished judge of a western state, while arguing in a public speech for a world alliance for peace, propose that an effective method to apply to a recalcitrant nation would be to segregate her commercially and close the ports of the world to her products.

And thus it is that the ideas of Government are based upon two systems of reasoning—one the inductive, the other the deductive; one the subjective, the other the objective; one coming from theory, logic, hopes, desires, aspirations, ideals; the other from a study of the past, from recorded experience, from the necessities of the occasion which are apparent. Good examples of the application of both systems are our two fundamental documents, the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States. The Declaration proclaimed the natural equality of man, and the right of the people over their government—noble theories which have given mankind hope against the injustice of the world ever since the world and the injustice began. And the Constitution was one of the most practical documents that ever was penned. Those who made it tested each clause, before they accepted it, by history, previous experiment, and the problems which immediately confronted them. They put theory behind them and acted neither as children nor gods, but as men in a world of men.

No branch of government has offered a finer field for the assertion of idealism and the practice of self-interest than that department which is charged with a nation's foreign relations. A nation is a moral being. Vattel has said it, and upon it rests the body of natural law which we call international law. But the moral being behaves with the utmost immorality at times, and follows his own interests without regard to the interests of others. Such, unhappily, is the history of nearly all nations. David Harum's version of the Golden Rule, you will remember, was: "Do unto the other feller the way he'd like to do unto you—and do it fust." It is a rule that nations often follow in their dealings with each other. A fundamental principle of international law is that all states are equal. If a state admits that it has a superior, it is not independent; it is not a sovereign nation. Yet large nations impose upon small nations every day. The hope of everlasting peace is met by the fact of everlast-

ing war. The kindly term, "the family of nations," is confronted by the actual rivalries, jealousies, prejudices, and hatreds of peoples. In truth, the family is composed of bad and quarrelsome members who acknowledge loyalty and obedience to no head.

And as for the substitutes for war, they are numerous; but not as numerous as the wars which they did not prevent. So far as the written record goes, they began with the sublime wish for international arbitration and disarmament of the prophet Isaiah. "For out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem: And he shall judge among the nations, and shall rebuke many people; and they shall beat their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning hooks: nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."

And I suppose that the last effort for the prevention of war was the international gathering of statesmen and scholars at the Hague held five years ago—shortly before the whole world went to war.

Ladies and gentlemen, there is a story of a rich man who gained great power because of his great wealth, and who, being a good man, founded educational and charitable institutions. And he put up a beautiful astronomical observatory with the finest and most costly apparatus, and he hired the most learned astronomers in the world and put them in the observatory to make their scientific studies and explorations, and then, he ordered them to alter the courses of the stars!

I am afraid that the finite brain of man has not yet discovered the courses of the human race, and cannot change them. I am afraid that they sweep on irresistibly and without pity, and that the blood and tears, the heroism and horrors, of war are a part of a mighty plan.

Now, for my own knowledge of the Secretaries of State, it goes back to Daniel Webster's day, when Millard Fillmore was President. I have heard the sonorous tones of Webster's voice and have looked into his cavernous, brooding eyes. I have seen General Lewis Cass in his own house, standing in his shirt sleeves playing the fiddle which he had borrowed from a clerk in the Department, and I remember the tune that he played. It was the same which the boatmen on the Potomac used to play when a fair wind was behind them and they could steer by leaning against the tiller as they played. General Cass said he had heard it a hundred times. And I have been chilled by intercourse with the cold and colorless Edward Everett. I remember the ridiculous old wig that Jeremiah Black used to wear. I have listened to Latin quotations and puns from Evarts, and I have sat under the spell of Blaine's fascinations. My first chief in the State Department was an old gentleman named George Bartle, who was the head of the Commission Bureau and

the actual Keeper of the Great Seal of the United States. He had entered the Department when Webster was the Secretary, and told me about the Secretaries who had gone before I came in, but especially he never tired of telling me about his greatest friend among them, Daniel Webster. And here I hope you will allow me the luxury of a parenthesis.

I have said that I was a clerk in the Commission Bureau, and there my chief duty was to receive and file the applications and recommendations for office. Most of them were addressed to the Secretary of State, but many had been sent to the President, who referred them to the State Department. The old papers relating to appointments were in our custody also, and I examined them from the administration of George Washington and Thomas Jefferson. The result of that study and experience was that I reached the conviction that the nature of men has not changed in so far as their eagerness to obtain the honors and emoluments of public office is concerned. I found that the office-seekers included men from every class and condition of life. Preachers, poets, college presidents, reformers, politicians great and small—it is a varied and astonishing assortment. I have seen the letters of a great poet importuning the President in behalf of another great poet, of a distinguished educator importuning in behalf of himself, of a learned lawyer making an ugly confession of his past weaknesses. I have read the bulking file of letters of a man who wanted a territorial office and lived to be President of the United States, and I have held in my hand the ghastly papers of a wretch who wanted a consulate and murdered the President who ignored his claims. It is a motley list of men, who have harassed successive Secretaries of State ever since Thomas Jefferson made Philip Freneau a translator in the Department and Peggy O'Neill's husband was sent as Minister to Spain.

But there has been a mighty improvement in recent years, for the consulates which were the chief fund for patronage of the Secretary of State are now wholly removed from political control, and appointments and promotions in the service proceed upon a merit system which works automatically and leaves to the Secretary of State only the duty of supervision. It was Cleveland's Secretary of State, Richard Olney, who began this reform by an order issued in 1895, and it was completed in 1906 when the bill for consular reorganization was passed in consequence of the efforts made by Elihu Root. The difference between the service under the spoils system and the new service is the difference between a bad service and the best in the world. The American consular corps spreads over the earth and employs more than fourteen hundred men. They are the guardians of our interests in foreign lands. They are an important part of the Government establishment, but they are so far

away that few of us ever hear of them, and they in their turn seldom hear that note of praise from the people whom they serve which is the sweetest reward that a public officer can know. Especially now, in this crisis of our affairs, we should do honor to the consuls. For three years past, ever since the war in Europe began, they have had an extraordinary burden to bear. Suddenly confronted with tremendous responsibilities, remote from the seat of authority, often required to act before instructions could be received, they have met a critical emergency with intelligence, patriotism, and courage. Few instances of dereliction of duty on their part have occurred. On the contrary, many Americans owe to their guardianship their liberty, and even their lives.

And now, if you please, we will return to Daniel Webster. He was 68 years old when he became Secretary of State for the second time, and he died two years later while he was still holding that office, but his health was fairly good until shortly before the end and he was in full mental vigor. He was a man who never stopped growing in his knowledge and wisdom. He had made his famous 7th-of-March speech three months before he entered the State Department. It had cost him his popularity among the extreme men of the North and it had not gained for him the support of the extreme men of the South, and extreme men were then coming into control. But it was the speech of a national statesman and showed that he had finally risen above all sectional prejudices. And this was the same Webster who had entered political life at the time of the War of 1812 and had formed one of the group of unpatriotic New England men who had opposed the war and comported themselves as if they were still Colonial Englishmen. How he had left that contemptible position and become the great expounder of the Constitution, the inspiring mouthpiece of a growing national sentiment, and the champion of the Union, is a story of the continuous growth of a great mind and a noble nature. When he was Secretary of State our foreign relations were calm; only one small storm ruffled the surface, but he made it the occasion for giving to the country a notable contribution to patriotic literature. What is known in the diplomatic history of the United States as "the Hulsemann note" is generally condemned by historians. Mr. Rhodes says it was "hardly more than a stump speech under diplomatic guise," and no one pretends to say that in the immediate controversy which called it forth the United States was in the right. That controversy has some interest for us at the present day, for it illustrates the interest which the Americans have always taken in the efforts of peoples, however alien they may be, to obtain their freedom. Hungary had revolted against Austria, and under the leadership of the gallant Kossuth a promising revolution had been started. Everybody

in the United States sympathized with the Hungarians, and, responding to the public sentiment, the President sent a confidential agent to Austria to ascertain how the rebellion fared, to see the leading rebels, if possible, and give them encouragement, and, if Hungary seemed to be able to maintain her independence, to be the first to welcome her in the name of the United States as an independent nation. As it happened, however, the American envoy did nothing unfriendly to Austria, because the rebellion was crushed before he had a chance to do anything. But the President was proud of the instructions he had given his agent, and certain that the people would approve of them, so he communicated them to the Senate and they were published to the world. Of course, no self-respecting government could sit tamely under such an insult. While the United States had been officially on friendly terms with Austria, she had been secretly trying to encourage a part of Austria's subjects to rebel against her. The offense was grave and was indefensible in international law. So the Austrian Minister, the Chevalier Hulsemann, protested firmly, temperately, and convincingly. Webster replied with the adroitness of a trained lawyer; then he dropped the technical offense and rose to a higher purpose. He said privately that his object in writing the note was to let the people of Europe know what the American nation was and to make the American people so proud of their nation that they would feel ashamed to destroy it. So he told the Chevalier Hulsemann that the United States considered themselves to be the representatives of purely popular principles of government, and that they stood in that light before the world; that "They could not, if they desired it, suppress either the thoughts or the hopes which arose in men's minds, in other countries, from contemplating their successful example of free government"; that the prevalence in Europe of sentiments favorable to republican liberty was the result of the reaction of America upon Europe, and that when the kings of Europe announced that they ruled by divine right their declaration amounted to nothing less than a denial of the lawfulness of the origin of the Government of the United States, since it was certain that that government was established in consequence of a change which did not proceed from thrones or the permission of crowned heads.

I am glad that Webster wrote that stump speech. I know that it did encourage the hope for free government of the people of Europe and that it did strengthen the national sentiment of the people at home. Too often do historians judge the mere act itself and fail to estimate the effect of the act, and it is an unfortunate truth that historians are seldom statesmen.

The Daniel Webster whom I knew (through Mr. Bartle, my chief) was a glorious old man whom everybody loved even to the point of adora-

tion, and he accepted our devotion without protest. He was perfectly frank and unassuming in his intercourse with his inferiors. We did not believe that he had any equals, and never heard that he had a superior. He took a liking to Mr. Bartle, who was a modest, faithful man, painstaking, loyal, and of perfect integrity. Webster carried Bartle's pocket-knife; he liked to joke with him, and called him "the Colonel," probably because he was a small man of most peaceable demeanor. On one occasion this conversation occurred between them.

Said Webster: "Colonel, have you got any money?"

"Yes, Mr. Webster; I have a little," said Bartle.

"Could you put your hands on a hundred dollars?"

"Yes, I think so."

"Then do so at once, and bring it to me."

So Bartle loaned him one hundred dollars, and a month later he placed before him a memorandum of the transaction.

"Colonel, do I owe you all of this money?" said Webster.

"Yes; you borrowed it from me a month ago," said Bartle.

"Then, you shall be paid," said Webster; and paid he was.

Webster was a man of playful, unstudied humor, and he would sometimes greet the morning with song. The chief clerk of the department was Mr. Chew, and Webster used to enter his room and chant:

"Well, Mr. Chew,
How d' ye do?
How are you?"

Mr. Bartle was present when Webster made a remark which became famous in the Department and was remembered for many years. Desiring a sum of money for an official purpose, he called the disbursing officer and ordered him to produce it; but the disbursing officer raised objections, and said he doubted whether there was warrant of law for the expenditure. Webster turned his dark eyes upon him and said with great solemnity:

"You find the money; I'll find the law."

Forty-two years after Webster's death another great Massachusetts lawyer became Secretary of State, but how wonderfully everything had changed in those years! It was no longer the custom for the Secretary to keep open house, to know every one in his Department, and to ask his clerks to dine with him. He no longer regarded them as a master used to regard his apprentices—as a part of his family for whose welfare he was responsible. The Department had become only a place to work in. The old days of leisurely progress had gone with the passing of the stage coach and the old Washington hacks. The easy hours of work, from 10

in the morning till 3 in the afternoon, had given place to seven hours of unremitting labor. And as the times were different, so were there never two men who in their personal characteristics were more unlike each other than Richard Olney was unlike Daniel Webster. Olney made no rhymes and sang no songs. No jokes of his remained behind him to add flavor to his memory after he had left. Webster was an unmethodical worker, taking up his task when the humor seized him, dropping it when he chose, and finishing it in his own good time. Eleven months elapsed between the date of the Chevalier Hulsemann's note and the date of his reply. Olney, on the other hand, came to his desk at 9 o'clock every morning, worked steadily till 4 in the afternoon, and then went for a long walk or a game of tennis; and his body, like his mind, was always in good working order. He had power of concentration beyond any one who has held the office of Secretary of State in our day. He never wasted a moment. Visitors were received promptly, stated their business, and lingered not. When he took up a subject he held it in his attention, mastered it in every detail, and constructed his argument forthwith. He had a passion for concluding things. He liked discussion and argument only because they led to decision. Unlike Webster as he was personally, in their mental outlook the two men were similar. They believed in an expanding American influence among the nations; they believed the United States to be the guardian of free government in the world. Webster called himself a Federalist and a Whig, and Olney called himself a Democrat; but their views on the destiny of their country were the same. Thus it is that Olney's great dispatch on the Venezuelan boundary question, in which he expounded the doctrine of Monroe, has a true Websterian ring and reminds us of the Hulsemann note.

"The people of the United States," said Olney, "have a vital interest in the cause of popular self-government. They have secured the right for themselves and their posterity at the cost of infinite blood and treasure. They have realized and exemplified its beneficent operation by a career unexampled in point of national greatness or individual felicity. They believe it to be for the healing of all nations, and that Civilization must either advance or retrograde accordingly as its supremacy is extended or curtailed. . . .

"Today the United States is practically sovereign on this continent, and its fiat is law upon the subjects to which it confines its interposition. Why? It is not simply by reason of its high character as a civilized state, nor because wisdom and justice and equity are the invariable characteristics of the dealings of the United States. It is because, in addition to all other grounds, its infinite resources combined with its

isolated position render it master of the situation and practically invulnerable as against all other powers."

Webster's creed was that the success of free government in the United States had stimulated the hopes for freedom of all nations. Forty years of progress had given us a more definite mission than mere example, and Olney asserted the power of the United States over half the world. I do not intend to be betrayed into a discussion of the Monroe Doctrine, and to walk with you through the morass of muddy reasoning and disputation with which essayists and politicians have confused themselves and their readers when they have attempted to explain what they do not understand. There is no American policy which is explained so diversely, and the explanations usually reflect the disposition of those who make them—timid souls making the policy little, and courageous men making it much. I say that Olney placed it on firm ground and gave it vital force, so that from the date of his exposition it became a rule of conduct as well as an assertion of doctrine. He was under no compulsion to declare the rule when he did. The question of the true boundary line between British Guiana and Venezuela had been dragging on for nearly a century. Successive Secretaries of State, declaring that the United States was interested in seeing it settled, had suggested arbitration, had offered good offices to bring it to an amicable conclusion. One had even offered to be the arbitrator. The real ownership of the disputed land was of little concern to us. Whether the flag of Great Britain or Venezuela should float over several thousand square miles of almost uninhabited country far distant from our shores could not affect us. Great Britain's claims were ever increasing, but they were still only claims. Mr. Olney could have left the question alone or merely repeated the same indeterminate suggestions and interest which had been recorded from Secretary Evarts' time. But, just as Webster took the protest of Hulsemann as the text for an international and national pronouncement of far-reaching effect, so did Olney make the disputed boundary of Guiana the occasion for putting the developed Monroe Doctrine into effect. President Cleveland's message to Congress on the Venezuelan question demanded that the true boundary line between British and Venezuelan territory be determined by arbitration, and it was arbitrated. The right of the United States to intervene to prevent the arbitrary settlement by a European power of a question involving the territory of a South American state was not only asserted, but maintained. The triumph of Olney and Cleveland was complete. Their action was much criticized, just as Webster's note had been, but it had a profound influence upon our acceptance of international responsibility and international duty.

Out of the heat which the controversy with England produced, Mr. Olney molded another opportunity for strengthening our international relations. He proposed to England that a general arbitration treaty be made by the two countries, so that good temper might be preserved between them in the future. The correspondence which he then had with Lord Salisbury, the British Minister for Foreign Affairs, is an interesting chapter in our foreign relations. Probably these two men, Olney and Salisbury, were the two ablest foreign ministers in the world at that time. The dynamic argumentation of Olney was met by an easy, frank, philosophical estimate of international public opinion on the part of Salisbury. He doubted whether the world was ready to accept the principle of general arbitration, but he yielded to Mr. Olney's reasoning, and the treaty was signed. In its careful arrangement of the methods to be invoked in case of international disagreement, it was the most elaborate of all the general arbitration treaties. There can be no doubt, too, that it was generally acceptable to the people of this country and of England. But it delegated unusual power to the President and Secretary of State, and the Senate was unwilling to agree in advance to settlements of disputes which might arise in the future and which under the established order would come before it for final agreement. Not choosing to be thus eliminated from one of its public duties, it would not agree to the Olney-Salisbury treaty, and sent it to join Mr. Blaine's Latin American arbitration treaty.

Before Mr. Olney's treaty there had been a number of arbitrations of disputes between this and other countries; but they were special individual arbitrations devised to cover specific disputes. The most important of them all—probably the most important that was ever held—was that which was arranged by Secretary Hamilton Fish for the settlement of the claims which this Government had against Great Britain for the spoliations against American commerce committed during the Civil War by the Confederate cruiser *Alabama,* which had been fitted out and had her base in British ports. There has never been a time when the relations between the United States and Great Britain were nearer the breaking point than they were when Hamilton Fish succeeded in saving us from war and arranging the Geneva arbitration. Had it been known then that the British Minister in Washington was sounding some of the leaders of the late Confederate Government to ascertain whether in the event of war former Confederates would make common cause with England against the United States, probably arbitration would have been impossible. But this was not even suspected. Mr. Fish's main difficulties were with the members of his own Government and his own party. He managed these difficulties with

patience, determination, and tact. The great arbitration took place in the city of Geneva, the United States won its case, and $15,500,000 was paid over to this Government to satisfy the claims for the destruction the *Alabama* had wrought. I have been told how the money was paid. England paid the whole amount by a single check through the Bank of Commerce in New York, whence it went to the State Department and Treasury of the United States.

The Geneva arbitration was the crowning event of Hamilton Fish's administration. It was one of the greatest achievements of any Secretary of State, and he was one of the greatest of all the Secretaries of State. He held the office for eight years, an unusually long term in our Government of constantly shifting chiefs, and in that time organized the Department on the lines which still maintain and handed down rulings and constructions of international law which his successors have rarely disturbed. Like most Secretaries of State, he was a lawyer, who had also had political experience, for he had been Governor of New York and a Senator. The management of our foreign affairs was a congenial task to him, and he liked the social duties which fall to a Secretary of State.

He was the type of man who used to be commoner than it is now—what we would call the old-fashioned gentleman. He was General President of the Society of the Cincinnati and took an interest in that organization; he was President of the New York Historical Society; he was active in the affairs of the Episcopal Church; his private fortune was substantial without being large; he had inherited his beautiful country place on the Hudson River; his favorite form of recreation was to give and attend dinner parties; his wines were well-known to connoisseurs; he had the gout—the picture is complete, and another stroke would spoil it. The days of Hamilton Fish were the golden days of the State Department. He settled down to his task; the Department developed under his intelligent management; as an efficient part of the machinery of Government it owes more to him than it owes to any other of the modern Secretaries of State.

James Gillespie Blaine was Secretary of State for nine months under the appointment of President Garfield and for three years in the administration of President Harrison. His efforts to obtain a declaration in favor of the peaceful settlement of all disputes on the American Continent is a chapter in the history of arbitration which should not be overlooked. He was in the fullness of his powers during his first service in the State Department, and wished to show that he had a statesman's qualities. He was full of high hopes and far-reaching plans. He was resolved to give the Garfield administration the best that was in him,

and never appeared to such advantage as he did when he was Garfield's Secretary of State. The tragic ending of that administration altered the plan of Mr. Blaine's life and affected his nature permanently. Three years later he was nominated for the Presidency and made a campaign which was desperate in its intensity. He missed the victory by a mere handful of votes, and thereafter he was a broken, disappointed man. Four years afterwards he was called back to the State Department, but he was a different man from the one who had stood at Garfield's right hand. His health was precarious, his temper was impatient and irascible, he worked irregularly, he was not in sympathy with his chief. Because of a personal quarrel of his own making, and in which he was wholly in the wrong, he resigned suddenly and sought to snatch the nomination for the Presidency from his chief, who was clearly entitled to receive it. This was the end of his tempestuous career. Success was the breath of his life. He failed ungracefully, and had not the force of character necessary to uphold him in defeat.

His personality was remarkable. Nature had given him to a wonderful degree the divine faculty of attracting men to him. Whether it was simply tact, or genuine sympathy with those with whom he came in contact, or real superiority of parts, it is impossible to say. It was there, and you felt its power without being able to name its source. It was not artificial, and it was not a trick. I remember the extreme care with which he investigated the charges which had been made against one of the smaller officials of his Department and the concern he showed that he should not do the man injustice. The matter was of little public importance and could not affect Mr. Blaine's fortunes in any way. And I recall how he once reprimanded a clerk for a blunder for which he was himself responsible, and how, as soon as he knew the truth, he wrote a note of apology to the clerk with his own hand. I remember the incident well, for I was the clerk.

He was a politician. He had been a politician from his youth. He had pulled every wire that politicians pull to move the voters for their own and their party's advantage, and he was not restrained in the manipulation by any high scruples; but he drew a line at the door of his Department, and politics did not enter into any appointments that he made. He sought for talent alone in selecting his assistants, and one of his most valued agents was William Henry Trescot, who had been the Assistant Secretary of State under Buchanan and one of the leaders in the secession of South Carolina.

After the days of Henry Clay and before the days of Theodore Roosevelt, no American public man had as large and devoted a personal following as Blaine. Thousands of men loved him and devoted themselves

to his fortunes with chivalric loyalty. Yet he was not the equal of either Clay or Roosevelt. He had not the high purposes of Clay nor the frank mental honesty of Roosevelt, although he had a brighter mind than either of them and was more adroit in his popular appeals. History will not connect his name with any great achievements of statesmanship as it has connected the name of Clay and will connect the name of Roosevelt.

The service for which Mr. Blaine should be remembered as Secretary of State was his effort to bring the independent nations of the Western Hemisphere into closer accord, and he, too, had his dreams of preventing war. It had been one of the hopes of Clay to produce some sort of federation of the American States, and he had appointed envoys to a congress which was to be held at Panama; but the congress never materialized, and active plans for revival of the idea slumbered for more than fifty years. At length, in 1881, the independent states of the American Continent were invited by Mr. Blaine, in the name of the President, to meet in Washington "for the purpose of considering and discussing methods of preventing war between the nations of America." The meeting was to be confined "to this one great object." Here was Blaine's great hope. A whole hemisphere was to agree to abolish war. The hand of an assassin deprived the country of the President under whom the plan was to be carried out, and it was too radical for Mr. Blaine's conservative successor, who postponed it. When Mr. Blaine became Secretary of State again he revived it, and the noted International American Conference of 1889-1890 took place under his auspices. That conference was, however, reluctant to agree to a general treaty for permanent peace, but Mr. Blaine by his persuasive personality and speech won it over, and a treaty was signed whereby all international American disputes not involving national independence were to be submitted, as they arose, to arbitration. President Harrison sent the treaty to the Senate with a strong recommendation that he be advised to ratify it, but the Senate showed no interest in the subject, and the treaty died a natural death. The first flush of enthusiasm created by Mr. Blaine in favor of abolishing war on this hemisphere having subsided, no more was heard of this, his contribution to the cause of international peace. I forget, at this moment, how many wars have taken place in Latin America since the unratified treaty was signed.

In entering on his second service as Secretary of State, Mr. Blaine succeeded a man who was not only unlike him, but whose nature was antipathetic to his own; and if so fine a nature as Thomas Francis Bayard's harbored hate, he hated Blaine. The two had fought bitter fights when they were in the Senate, and when Blaine was a candidate

for the Presidency, Bayard had attacked his personal character. Bayard believed himself to be the superior of Blaine, and in many respects he was. He was an old-fashioned scholar, and a solid reasoner. He knew the classics, knew Shakespeare, was a student of the Bible, knew English and American history. Afterwards, when he was Ambassador to England, he went with a party of English friends to Greece and saw with intense interest a land with which his imagination was familiar, for Socrates, Demosthenes, and even Ulysses and Helen of Troy, were to him real characters. There was nothing of tinsel about him; no false glitter; no acting simply for applause. He was an aristocrat. The history of the Senate includes an account of three generations of Bayards, and another of the family had been a member of the Continental Congress. A long line of distinguished men stretched behind him, and, like the Chevalier, the father of all the Bayards, he was without fear and without reproach. He represented the higher element of his party, and to the credit of his party be it said that if he had not come from the state which was next to the smallest in the Union and carried no weight in Presidential elections, he would have been his party's candidate for the Presidency. Of course, he was an ambitious man; otherwise he could not have been in public life; but he was not self-seeking, and when his race was run he went into dignified retirement and died without bitterness in his heart. For many years he had stood in the forefront of the leaders of the Senate, but he was a leader of the opposition. During his long career before he became Secretary of State he had never had responsibility for constructive statecraft. To criticise, obstruct, and give voice to the adverse sentiment of the country—this had been his duty, and he had made a reputation for himself because he did it well.

He had studied the foreign relations of the country while he was in the Senate, and he entered the State Department well equipped for his duties; but while he was there he added not an ounce to the weight of his reputation. The habits of a lifetime could not be broken. For constructive work he was untrained, and it was too late for him to learn. His state papers while he was Secretary of State were admirable, replete with legal and historical argument, skillful, stately, and impressive; but they did not settle the questions they discussed. They only enriched the discussion. Mr. Bayard emerged from the office of Secretary of State with diminished prestige in his party, and there was no call again for his nomination to be President. He made one notable effort to settle an international controversy. The dispute with England over the fisheries on the Northeastern coast was older than the Government, and came up periodically to disturb the good relations between America and England. So with infinite pains and after prolonged negotiation by a special com-

mission, Mr. Bayard made a treaty which he hoped would settle the question for all time. It was a good treaty. It was consigned to the tender mercies of the Senate, and that august body sent it to join the long line of treaties which from time to time it has interred in the cemetery which it keeps for that purpose.

Here I must say a word about the Senate in its relationship to the Secretary of State. It is a part of the treaty-making power. A treaty cannot be ratified until it agrees to it. The highest duty, therefore, of the Secretary of State is at the mercy of the Senate. The Executive does not always relish this conjunction of powers, and it is recorded that when General Washington was President he once went before the Senate with a treaty, but was displeased with some remarks that the Senators made, and when he came away said he "would be damned if he ever went there again." Since then the Executive has not personally consulted the Senate as a body in the progress of treaty-making. The Senate has agreed to many important international pacts; but it is equally true that it has on numerous occasions ruthlessly destroyed the work of long months of negotiation on the part of the Secretary of State. In its burying ground for treaties lie four which provided for annexing territory to the United States—the Texas treaty, the Santo Domingo treaty, that for the purchase of St. Thomas, that for the admission of Hawaii. Texas and Hawaii joined us by a different route. St. Thomas, which Secretary Seward tried to buy for $7,500,000, Secretary Lansing bought the other day for $25,000,000. Santo Domingo still remains an independent state. Beside the buried annexation treaties rest the whole family of reciprocity treaties which John Hay negotiated under the provisions of the McKinley bill; and the McKinley bill is dead also; and near them, more recently interred, are John Hay's hopeful arbitration treaties. If they had been permitted to live, they would have been a credit to their progenitor, even if they had not prevented any wars. The most appropriate epitaph that could be inscribed to mark their resting place would be:

Requiescat in pace!

And as all things end with a funeral and the grave, so should this allusion to the dead treaties close this lecture. I have given you a little philosophy, a little history, a few reminiscences, and a few opinions, and you have listened to me with kind attention—so kindly, in fact, that I cannot forbear to make my peroration a paragraph pertaining to a man of the present day, which I did not intend to do when I began these remarks.

The gallant, learned, and modest gentleman who is now serving as Secretary of State is a worthy successor to the distinguished men whom

I have mentioned in the course of my remarks. He is managing our foreign affairs in the most critical period through which the modern world has ever passed. He has one dominant idea—to do his duty. Zealously, fearlessly, and with consummate skill, he upheld our rights by every process known to diplomacy, and as long as regard for the national honor permitted, he kept the way clear for continuance of peace. He won the confidence of the country then. Since war has been trust upon us by a lawless nation, he has guided the State Department with the quiet determination of a master hand. A great task has been entrusted to him. Give him, I beg of you, your confidence and help. Without it, he cannot achieve success; with it, failure is impossible. Stand behind your servant and encourage him onward in his work. And when the end of all this dreadful strife has come and our country shall emerge triumphant, we shall be proud of Robert Lansing.

Historical Parallels

BY D. H. HILL

There is a logical axiom that like antecedents always produce like consequents, or, to put the axiom in less technical words, that like causes always produce like effects. Is the axiom as applicable to man's thought and acts as it is to physical phenomena? Is human nature so unchangeable from generation to generation that, given the same antecedents of circumstance, we will always evolve virtually the same consequents of thought and action? It would seem, at all events, that this is true when the antecedent circumstance is war.

Counting approximately, two and a half generations have entered life's activities since the Civil War closed fifty-two years ago. The environment of these generations is radically different from that of the ante-war generations. Their lives have been broadened by the extension of railroads, the cheapening of travel, and the growth of papers, magazines, and books. Their political contentions have differed. Their social system has been entirely changed. Even their religious views have been markedly altered. Yet, in spite of these fundamental changes, at the advent of war, with its hate and horrors, these new generations revert to the same problems that confronted their forefathers in 1861, and are solving them in almost identically the same way. Each day, almost, in 1917 seems to bring a recurrence of the same difficulties that confronted the State and Confederate governments in 1861-62, and the parallelism of action at the two epochs is startling. It may be that so basal a thing as war, like the basal emotions of love, hate, jealousy, avarice, can present no new aspects, and that we must always expect only changes in the method of waging it and the spirit in which it is waged.

If you will read some of the speeches made in the Senate and House of the Legislature of North Carolina in 1861 and in 1862, and then read the speeches on the same topics that were delivered in Congress for the past few months, you will almost wonder if that Congress were not an adjourned session of the earlier Legislature.

Let me ask your careful attention to two brief extracts from the speeches of two Governors of North Carolina:

"Congress has passed an act of conscription. Many of you thought it harsh and unconstitutional. It was harsh, and may have been unconstitutional, although many of our ablest statesmen thought not. To stop *now* to argue it could only produce the greatest mischief, for the reason that it has already

been executed. However objectionable in its conception, let us at least be just and impartial in its execution. I am sure that if every man who has his country's good at heart but knew of the necessity which existed, he would render it a cheerful obedience."

The second extract is as follows:

"No matter what may have been our individual thought about the wisdom of conscription as a means of raising our armies, the draft is now the law of our great land. In the present emergency, no matter what a man's private opinions might have been before war was declared, if he is a lover of his country, he will give power to the arm that is raised to strike."

One of these utterances was written by Governor Vance in 1862; the other by Governor Bickett in 1917. Will this discriminative audience kindly guess which Governor wrote the first and which the second extract?

This parallelism extends from very small things to things of paramount magnitude. For example of the small ones: I had thought that the familiar expression, "Somewhere in France," was perhaps a coinage of the present war. Yet in the *Fayetteville Observer* of July 11, 1861, you will find this:

"As it would be imprudent to mention numbers and places, we simply chronicle the fact that on yesterday Colonel Williams sent a detachment of————men to a point somewhere in the Old North State."

As an example on a large scale: On July 13, 1863, anti-draft riots in New York City led to the killing and wounding of 1,000 resisters. In August, 1917, practically the same sort of riots broke out among ignorant settlers in Oklahoma, and later in a few other places.

To get an orderly glimpse at these parallels, let us consider them from three viewpoints:

First, the industrial and economic.

Second, the relations of the individual to the Government.

Third, the relations of the individual to society.

First, it is needless to say that at neither epoch was there any adequate industrial, economic, or military preparation for war. You recall with pain our situation when war was declared in April. Our army was not big enough to chase the bandit Villa and police our border without calling out the militia. No great depositories were, as in Germany, stored with necessary uniforms, equipments, ammunition, rifles, cannon of every calibre, and all the other habilaments of war. No reserve stores of food for our armies and navy were at once available, nor is there yet a reserve supply of material that must go into munitions in case of a long war. Even yet, seven months after our war flag was raised, many of our

artillery regiments have no guns and our cantonments are insufficiently supplied. Worse still, if possible, there was not a large trained general staff, capable at once of organizing and coördinating all the departments of a great army. Had not a most potent group of trained civilians flocked to Washington and, at their own charges largely, lent vigor in this extremity to our organization, our situation would indeed be deplorable.

If, after a half-century of almost marvelous progression in wealth, in business sagacity, in capacity for organization, in growth of acre-wide industrial plants, in agricultural fitness and economic production, we in 1917 fall so short of war requirement, you can imagine how many more difficulties entangled the feet of our rulers in Secession days. Had not both North and South been equally novices in waging war, the struggle must have terminated in a few months. The North did have the remnant of the old army and navy. It did have some factories making powder and arms—factories that sold munitions of destruction to Col. C. C. Lee, representing the State of North Carolina, until the outbreak of hostilities stopped southward transportation. It did have raw material and competent workers to change this material into ordnance and commissary and quartermaster stores.

But the agricultural South, that still believed in Nat Macon's dogma that no man ought to live close enough to a neighbor to hear his dogs bark, was as unequipped to begin a war as a Ford automobile engine is to draw a Coast Line freight train.

North Carolina was a typical Southern State. Recall her condition when she entered so desperate a struggle: was cut off from her usual northern markets and had no established central government from which to draw supplies. There was not a single powder factory in the State in 1860; not a cartridge plant, not a cap machine, not a cannon foundry, not a rifle factory, and only about 25,000 guns of any sort in sight, and most of those flint and steel muskets. Eleven men in the State reported that they could mend and make firearms. There were no lead, nitre, saltpetre, sulphur, or mercury establishments. Ex-Governor Manly writes to Ex-Governor Swain: "Our agents are running all over the land, digging up smokehouses, hen roosts, and stables, to get saltpetre." An agent had to be sent as far south as New Orleans to buy bridles and saddles for our first cavalry regiment. There was not a large clothing or shoe factory in our borders. To furnish her soldiers with uniforms and blankets and keep her people in clothes, there were seven small woolen mills. To help provide shoes for her troops, the State had to send out agents in wagons through county after county to collect green hides. These were tanned here and there on shares, and then made into

shoes by men who were begged out of Confederate conscription. But for an expensive and daring blockade business established by the State, our soldiers would have suffered as the soldiers of Belgium are now suffering. Out of a total State population of nearly one million, only 14,217 were engaged in any form of industrial enterprises, and most of these did a purely local business.

Many of our troops moved gaily to the firing line with haversacks made by the soldiers' mothers, with cartridge belts made of cloth gummed into thickness by shellac, with cartridges made at the Deaf and Dumb Asylum, with pieces of carpet lined with cotton cloth for blankets, with bowie knives instead of bayonets, and with shotguns instead of rifles. Their food was often so scarce that they boasted that they fought three square battles on less than one square meal, but they were generally as cheerfully uncomplaining as was the young officer who wrote Governor Vance from Virginia: "I hear rations are scarce in North Carolina; but do not worry about us. We shall do finely as long as ground-hogs, screech-owls, and wild onions are as plentiful as they are now."

Economically, we see another similarity. The enormous expenses of war can, of course, be borne only by pledging the credit of the Government. Before our soldiers have entered a single pitched battle we have lent our Government in Liberty bonds about seven billion dollars.

Of course, such a sum as this was unthinkable in 1861; but we used exactly the same process to get ready to fight. Before the Confederate Government was organized, the several states had to finance the mobilization of their own troops. Our State raised its war funds in three ways: First, large sums were borrowed, or rather assessed from the banks in proportion to capital stock. Up to September 20, 1862, the State had borrowed $2,550,440 from its banks. Second, bonds were sold outside of the State to the amount of $1,404,074.62, and inside the State to $3,096,448. Third, treasury notes amounting to $3,245,810.50 were issued. This makes a total for practically the first year of the war of $10,296,773.12.

Next, let us glance at the Government's attitude towards the individual in the two epochs.

At the entrance into both wars the Government's right to war service had to be considered. Should the authorities rely on volunteers, or should the absolute right of the Government to the service of its sons be maintained? South and North in '61 began the struggle with volunteers mainly for six months or a year. But, as the conflict progressed beyond the expectations of both belligerents, it was seen that freely as men volunteered at first, more men were needed than were volunteering.

Moreover, it was soon found that large numbers of soldiers who had volunteered for six or twelve months would not reënlist at the end of their term of service. Thus, at a most critical time, the ranks would be depleted. North Carolina, for example, had over ten regiments of short-term men. Many men in all states had rushed into the fray thinking war a sort of pleasurable outing. Before the first year of service was ended, they realized how piteously hard and nerve-racking and soul-trying war is. Then the hearts of the unstable and the unheroic began to hanker for the flesh-pots of home. Both governments saw that if a choice between home and field were allowed, unfillable gaps in the lines would follow. The Confederates, having the fewer number of men to draw form, were the first to act. A conscription law for all men between 18 and 35 was passed April 16, 1862. In March, 1863, the North followed with an act drafting all between 18 and 45.

Fortunately, at the beginning of our present war we, after prolonged and acrimonious debate, profited by our previous experience and by England's and escaped the farce of a volunteer army. It seems to me that we owe this escape to the patient and heroic man who with unawed nerves and dispassionate brain guides our nation in this stormful day. We escaped at the same time the fatal calamity of hired substitutes.

With conscription there arose, in both epochs, the vexed question of exemptions. The first Confederate act provided for few exemptions. County officers, industrial and vocational workers, men with large and dependent families, were all enveloped in an almost inexorable Army drag-net. In too many cases the law was enforced with handcuffs and bayonet prods. Pitiful letters poured in to Governor Vance. In whole communities not a carpenter was left to make a coffin in which to bury the dead. Plows, wagons, threshing machines, and other farm implements were often useless because there were no blacksmiths left at home. In the absence of local millers, women had to carry corn for miles to some mill run by a man above conscript age. Factories were seriously crippled, and harvests could not be gathered. Rectification of these mistakes were attempted later.

This generation, profiting by its recollection of the former mistakes, met this strife-provoking and necessarily difficult dilemma by starting with a selective draft law, a law to require men's services, but to classify their abilities so as to get most efficiency out of our man-power. If this law, which meets the approval of thinkers everywhere, be impartially administered during the war, we shall not lack for soldiers.

A perfect parallel is found in both epochs in the scramble for exemptions. The pleadings and excuses in Vance's letter files and the pleadings and excuses now on file before exemption boards differ only in that the

former are fifty years old and the latter a few months in age. Men who toiled not, neither did they spin, who lived only in the sweat of their jaws on food which somebody else provided, endeavored to convince boards that they were ant-like and bee-like and mosquito-like in their activities. Petticoats were waived to keep the home fires burning for slackers with cold feet. Men who, like Asahel, were as fleet of foot as the wild roes on the mountains, became overnight as lame as Mephibosheth, the son of Saul. Almost in a twinkling, hearts went to leaking, eyes waxed dim, and ears forbore to function. Tricks of all sorts were tried.

From the outset of hostilities at both epochs came another question of how far the Government could control the individual, and the thought of the individual, who owned a newspaper. Should laws be passed establishing governmental restrictions and governmental censorship. At the earlier period, Confederate and State governments shrank from any attempt at national or State control, but relied on requests to the owners of papers. How we shall finally settle this most important matter in this war remains yet to be seen; but we know how the European governments have decided it.

At both epochs men questioned the Government's right to decide what a man shall plant on his own land. Just as the authorities pleaded in 1862, we are today pleading with men to plant more wheat and corn and other food crops. In 1861 and in 1917 landowners in tobacco sections were begged to plant less tobacco to chew and more food to eat. In 1863 women with hungry children became so outraged that these pleas were unheeded, that they went by night and destroyed tobacco beds on neighboring farms.

In both cases the Government had to face a decision as to the individual's right in time of national need to turn the grain which he had raised, or which he had bought, into whiskey or beer. In both cases the decision was the same—the individual's desire had to give way to public need, and such conversion was forbidden. Then, as now, lawless men with gain-hardened souls defied the law and set up illicit stills. So detrimental to civil order did some of their stills become in North Carolina during the Civil War that women, arming themselves with Carrie Nation weapons, fell on them with fury and chopped them into fragments.

Another exact parallel is found in the attitude of speculators. By convulsing markets, by so overworking transportation companies as to break down regularity of supplies, and by snatching away honorable business men, war, of course, offers a cormorantic harvest for speculators. In 1861, just as in 1917, speculators showed and are showing their

usual shriveled souls. Without a pinch of remorse for inflicting physical torture on families already suffering mental agony from giving up household idols, without a thought of doing even a mite for country when country was doing all for them, these buzzards of commerce set to work to hoard supplies on falling markets in order to dole them out at fabulous prices in hours of scarcity. During the Civil War they, through insatiable greed, inflicted almost as much suffering as hostile armies did. The revelation in New York City last week of the fact that seventy-five millions of essentials were hidden in that city for speculative and perhaps treasonable purposes shows avarice as contemptible and conscienceless as ever.

Perhaps it would not be an overstatement to say that thousands of petitions were sent to the North Carolina Legislature during the four years of war, asking that a scale of reasonable prices be fixed by law. However, the Legislature never felt able to comply. At this juncture in our national affairs our food administrators are working at the problem from every approach. May power be multiplied to them!

How to reach and deal with the individual who might be negatively, partly, or wholly disloyal to his Government in speech or in deed, led to similar legislation in both periods. Laws to define treason crowded the calendar of our State Legislature for four years. No doubt our present national statutes will undergo various changes before this international war is closed. The disposition of internal alien enemies was important in 1861; it is absolutely vital now. In the former epoch the alien was not, as now, a foreigner, but a sympathizer with the other section. It is to be hoped that in this war there will be no revival of the odious disloyalist formerly designated as buffalo and copperhead.

Many other parallelisms could be mentioned if there were no such thing as time. Let us turn for a moment to a few parallels from social life.

Then, as now, the individual conscience was asked to submerge itself into the community conscience. Every individual was asked, in his household and business dealings, to think in terms of State and Nation. In '61 they called it saving for the State; in '17, since the world has grown bigger, we call it conservation for the Nation. Let me read you a sentence, and if it were not sworn and subscribed to as an utterance of our Governor in 1862, would you not vow that it was a sentence from Mr. Hoover in 1917:

"All the fruits of the earth should be saved most carefully. Retrenchment and reform should begin in our households and extend to everything, public and private."

What we now call a gospel of conservation was and is preached persistently in both eruptions. Everything worth while is to be saved—food, clothes, raw material, potential supplies; everything is to be conserved except meetings and speeches; these will keep in their own dryness. But do you not wish they might be canned?

At the beginning of the Confederate struggle there was a tremendous return to hand labor. We are now just beginning to see a similar return. Who in this impatient age of electric rapidity ever expected to see hand knitting return? Who ever expected to see absorbent cotton again carded by just such hand cards as were imported into North Carolina by the blockade runner, *Advance,* in 1863? It is not unlikely that we shall soon see a return of hand shoe-makers, tanners, wagon-builders, and allied industries.

Already, just as in the Confederate age, there is a revival of manual toil for women. Now, just as then, the American women, with the nobility of soul that has always marked them, are assuming with cheerful alacrity and, what is more, with the same efficiency, the burdens and responsibilities left by the departing soldiers.

Again, while war calls out many of the holiest of man's emotions—patriotism, broad-mindedness, self-sacrifice—it also evokes some of the basest passions of human nature. Consequently, in times of war there is always a deplorable increase in lawlessness and crimes of violence.

The Confederacy, swept bare of vigorous men, had to cope with crime as best it could with old men and boys, and these composed its Home Defense. One officer, in sending in to the Commissary Department a requisition for supplies for his aged troops, included six hundred pairs of spectacles and spectacle cases, four hundred walking canes, and three hundred bottles of Radway's Ready Relief for Rheumatism. Unless the war progresses to great length, our generation will not be as hard put to it for home defenders.

Now, with all these similarities, let us be devoutly thankful for one overwhelming difference: In this war one American will not have to dye his hands in another American's blood. Friends, kinsmen, fellow-citizens are not to look into one another's eyes with hate and ferocious desire to slay; but, united to a man, we wage war to keep this world a decent place in which to live!

The Influence of the Civil War on Education in North Carolina

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In such evil days as these none is so foolhardy as to attempt with satisfaction or safety any prediction of the probable social readjustments which will come with peace. We do find ourselves speculating, however, and seek in history and in the bitter experiences of other wars for some means by which we may know what to expect when the thunder of the guns has ceased and the cries and groans of the wounded and the dying are hushed. What educational changes will take place none dares to say, though many may think themselves ready to foretell, arguing from the educational history of Europe following certain great military conflicts there, or of this country following the Revolutionary War or the Civil War. Although the present situation may have no exact educational parallel in the past, it may not be altogether unprofitable to note briefly the actual educational influence of the Civil War in our own region. No account of this influence, however, would be complete and adequate which did not note also, for purposes of comparison at least, *ante-bellum* educational theory and organization and actual educational practice.

There were at least three very distinct periods of educational development in the United States at large prior to the Civil War. These periods appear in quite as clear outline in North Carolina as in other sections of the country, and correspond to as many different periods in our social and economic growth. They may be noted as follows:

First, there was the colonial period, when European traditions, customs, and institutions were transplanted, from the first settlements to about the middle of the eighteenth century or a little later, when the life of the colony was colored by conditions in the mother country.

Second, there was the period from about the middle of the eighteenth century to about the fourth decade of the nineteenth century. This period was marked by attempts to meet the demands of new and rapidly changing political, social, and economic conditions.

Third, there was the period which extended from the thirties to the undoing of Reconstruction in the seventies; and, up to 1861 at least, it was notable for attempts to develop an educational system distinctively American in character. During this period, faith in the power of the people gradually developed; Jeffersonian democracy rapidly culminated.

There was a gradual separation of public education from ecclesiastical control, a slow but steady growth of the idea of local control in education, and a wholesome tendency toward the ideal of democracy. During this period, so-called public schools passed over to the State, the old academies began to be changed into public high schools, colleges began to take on a non-sectarian character, and the state universities began to develop. There was likewise a general expansion of state constitutional provisions for education, which was an outgrowth of the development of the democratic theory of government. Specific and definite language was substituted for general terms in educational legislation. There was also an extension of the franchise and an increase in the number of elective officers. It was during this period that we find the early attempts for the normal instruction of teachers, the organization of state boards of education, the creation of the office of state superintendent, the establishment of teachers' institutes, and the building of school libraries.

This new impetus to educational thought and practice was in great evidence in North Carolina in 1860. The idea of public education began early and grew steadily. For example, North Carolina was the first of the Southern group and the second of all the United States to make constitutional provision for schools. This provision was adopted December 18, 1776, and was almost a literal copy of a section of the constitution of Pennsylvania which had been adopted September 28 of the same year. In 1825 the Literary Fund was created and grew so rapidly that by 1860 it had accumulated into an endowment large enough to furnish, from its income, the sum of $186,000 annually to promote public schools. In 1839 the first public school law was enacted, and was later revised and improved into a creditable basis for educational facilities. Under this law, state, county, and local district organizations were formed, and the place of school support, by a combination of local taxation and the revenue from the Literary Fund proved popular and well suited to the conditions of the times. This fund served as a powerful incentive to local taxes for school purposes. From 1853 to 1866 the state organization was headed by Calvin H. Wiley, North Carolina's first superintendent of public instruction, who promoted and strengthened the work of the schools, and by his own labors and achievements challenged favorable comparison with the work of Horace Mann and of Henry Barnard in New England. The various counties of the State had superintendents, many of whom were earnest men, and the local districts were often served by trustees who did the best they could. There was an effective state teachers' organization, several county teachers' organizations, and a very creditable teachers' journal; and in the late fifties the movement

to train teachers through normal schools and institutes was fast gaining momentum and popular approval. Compared with the multitude of subjects which have been tortured into the course of study today, the *ante-bellum* curriculum was narrow, but there is evidence that boys and girls learned to read, to write, and to cipher with a certain degree of success. Text-books were doubtless unattractive and often defective, schoolhouses were often crude and uncomfortable, and many of the teachers, often laws unto themselves, knew no method but that of the rod. They were probably indifferent scholars; and if their pupils became more successful men and women than are being developed in our own day, it is perhaps another conspicuous example of the advantage of early hardships and discipline, and the praise is due chiefly to the ambition, industry, and perseverance of the children themselves. The shadows of the good old days still linger in the days of modern education, all its alleged aids to intellectual advancement to the contrary notwithstanding.

Toward the close of the *ante-bellum* period educational interest was on the increase. On the eve of the war and even after the struggle was on, interest in grading the schools, in providing secondary educational facilities, and in increasing taxation for school purposes developed. The theory that the schools were for all the people, the poor as well as for the well-to-do, was gaining strength. Prejudice against the charity idea was weakening, and everywhere there was hope. Wiley's last report before the State seceded gave gratifying evidence of the regularity of the system's operation. Out of a school population of about 221,000 about 150,000 children were in 3,000 schools with terms longer than at any other time before 1900. More than 2,700 teachers were licensed that year, and were paid better salaries than public school teachers received in North Carolina at any other time prior to 1900. Local school taxes in 1860 exceeded $100,000—a large amount for the time. Moreover, the courage and industry of the friends of the schools did not fail during the war. Throughout those dark days the schools continued to operate with surprising regularity and consistency; and as late as April, 1865, with the Union Army in our midst, Wiley was receiving official school returns from the various counties. But the régime rapidly passed, and with it passed also "The best system of public instruction in the fourteen Southern States east of the Mississippi, previous to the outbreak of the Civil War."

With these *ante-bellum* educational achievements in mind we may go to the question which this topic should suggest: "What was the actual influence of the war and the years of Reconstruction on public education in North Carolina?"

In spite of the facts already given, it has been popular in certain regions to assert that there was no system of public education in any Southern State prior to the Congressional Plan of Reconstruction, that little educational effort had been made in the South before that time, and that this lack of educational tradition for all the people was in large part responsible for the war and its deplorable aftermath. Some people believed that such education as was given in the South during *ante-bellum* days was based on wrong principles which produced the secessionist and rebellious spirit. It was also believed that the poor whites were in dense ignorance and that this ignorance had been exploited by unprincipled leaders and thus made the basis for the Confederacy. It was also believed that many of the white leaders in the South frequently opposed public education for the masses, and that all native whites opposed the education of the negroes after their emancipation.

Evidence of these beliefs accumulated for many years, and is now abundant. The war had scarcely closed before they were finding expression throughout the country. The burden of the speeches and addresses of the National Teachers' Association, held in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, in August, 1865, was that the lately closed rebellion had been a "War of rebellion and patriotism against ignorance and barbarism." The result of the war, it was believed, afforded rare opportunities for extending "universal education" in the South, which was viewed as a vast missionary field. This view was, in fact, so generally held that it became one of the defenses of the policy finally adopted for "reconstructing" that region.

Here, then, is one point at which an educational influence of the war appears not only in North Carolina but in the other Southern States as well. In spite of the genuineness of a part of this sentiment, the decade following the close of the war witnessed much misdirected missionary zeal and vague and visionary effort, which were finally damaging in their influence. With the single exception of the Peabody Board Trustees, whose work was systematic and tactful and has had a lasting beneficial educational influence, the most of these missionary activities were blindly made and with little or no sympathetic understanding of local conditions or local needs. The enthusiasts failed pitiably to consider the temper of the popular mind and made the ridiculous and fatal mistake of believing that the chief difference between the white man and the negro was the enforced ignorance of the latter which, in their opinion, could be readily removed. "We have four millions of liberated slaves who should be educated," said a minister near the close of the war. "They ask it of our hands, and the world expects us to do it. . . . Since the Christian era there has not been such an oppor-

tunity for such a country to do such a work, the noblest work man can do. . . . The old slave states are to be new missionary grounds for the national schoolmaster." This view served to alienate rather than to conciliate the region which needed aid and thus defeated its alleged purpose; and the prejudice thus engendered has not yet altogether weakened.

The rebuilding and reorganization of a public school system after the war was one of the many disheartening tasks which confronted the people of North Carolina and the South generally, and the question of educating all the people soon became more critically important in that region than in any other part of the Union. This problem was complicated and discouraging. The State emerged from the four years' conflict with a loss of a large part of her male population and a complete loss of practically all her accumulated capital. Not only was it difficult to restore the material resources necessary for the building of a successful school system, but the crime of the reconstruction period made an immediate and complete restoration of public confidence tedious and well-nigh impossible. In fact, the so-called restoration period, after the war, proved more destructive than the war itself. It robbed us of what the war had spared; and, by looting treasuries and squandering public funds, by imposing enormous taxes, by practicing fraud and extravagance, and by piling up colossal bonded debts, the period of Reconstruction ran its corrupt fingers deep "into the pockets of posterity." Industry was checked in its development; idleness and fraud were widely encouraged; local justice was thwarted and put in contempt; the people were ruled by corrupt and reckless officials, and almost all tendencies to good government were stifled. In this experience is the explanation of the State's educational backwardness following the Civil War, and of the indictment, once so frequently made, that we hated taxes and tax collectors and distrusted all "public welfare" plans and movements. In this experience may likewise be found the explanation of our so-called devotion to a sort of *laissez-faire* theory in education; and the frequent extreme application of the principles of local government to educational administration is doubtless another influence of the War and Reconstruction.

Elaborate constitutional and legislative provisions were made just after the war, and, in a measure, served well as a framework for an adequate school system. These provisions were more mandatory with reference to taxation for school support than were the *ante-bellum* provisions. But these elaborate provisions were not sufficient. There was a widespread feeling of insecurity which crystalized into a sort of educational philosophy. But it was a condition rather than a theory with which the people of the State had to contend—a condition produced by

the poverty of the State, and inexperience, ignorance and prejudice which came from the new order of things. The opinion was gaining that schools and education were to be universal, yet there was an apparent lack of genuine educational interest. The negro had suddenly been given a place in politics without any preparation of it; the Freedman's Bureau and other organizations were disbursing their funds recklessly for his education; and school officials, often foreign in their sympathies and guided by questionable motives, sought to raise him to a place of universal brotherhood both politically and socially. Moreover, the possibility, under the Constitution, of forcing mixed schools on the people produced a constant dread and strengthened a natural prejudice.

The *post-bellum* provision for taxation for school support was, in principle at least, a decided improvement over the *ante-bellum* provision; the latter was very creditable, however, even though it was discretionary and permissive rather than obligatory. But the literary fund had stimulated local initiative before the war; and with the loss of that fund the incentive to local taxation became so weak that local tax sentiment was for years difficult to restore in many places, and even today ancient arguments are used to defeat it in others.

Provisions for the education of the negroes, coming as a natural result of emancipation, had a not unexpected influence on educational thought in North Carolina as indeed in the South generally. Emancipation of the negroes implied a certain promise to educate them and to provide opportunity to fit them, as far as possible, for citizenship. This changed political status of the colored man had an educational influence in other regions, however, as well as in the South. Here the new status of the negro was recognized by the native white citizens who made efforts to meet the demands made by the change. And if an unfortunate attitude was occasionally assumed toward the education of the negro, it can more often than not be laid at the feet of the Freedmen's Bureau and organizations of similar character. Here, then, is another influence of the war, which is indeed "a heritage of evil." In North Carolina the education of the freedmen was viewed with cordiality and favor by the more representative citizenship of the State; and but for an unwarranted outside interference and an exploitation of the negro race by men who were both foreign in sympathy and visionary in judgment, the present educational condition of the negro would here doubtless be more favorable and hopeful.

Following the war there was a legally prescribed school term, but that term was precisely the same as the actual average term before the war. Here then was another *ante-bellum* educational practice which was adopted by the *post-bellum* régime and claimed as a distinct contribution

of the latter period. But it should be borne in mind that the average term in *post-bellum* times, even as late as 1900, scarcely reached the average *ante-bellum* term. As already noted, the average salary paid teachers from the close of the war until 1900 was lower than was the average salary before the war. There is considerable evidence also that schools were taken more seriously in the former than in the latter period. The *post-bellum* constitution and legislation contained educational provisions which were conflicting and which had an immediate and unwholesome influence on public thought, which influenced men to think lightly of public educational enterprises and imposed an educational burden from which we have yet to escape.

However valuable some of the educational influences of the war may have been, they were lessened by the folly and offense committed by the partisan plan of the period. The infamy of radical rule and the incapacity and ignorance which the recently emancipated negro displayed in his early participation in political affairs, finally produced a reaction which was damaging alike to the education of the negro and of the white child. The period of political and financial license, when a multitude of passions and vices were riotously indulged, blighted an educational enthusiasm which native conservatives and former leaders doubtless felt. The fear of mixed schools combined with the poverty-stricken condition of the State to produce an educational indifference, if not hostility, which did not die with the death of the restoration period. Local evils were intensified by the agitation in Washington of the Civil Rights Bill which threatened temporary destruction to education in the South and produced an influence which was as deadly as it was persistent.

What would have been the result in North Carolina had there been no outside interference? This question is now hardly a matter for speculation. From the evidence available, there is every indication that if the native conservative element had been free to act, without unwholesome influences from abroad, better educational policies would have been outlined and better educational influences would have been felt. There was a widespread and noticeable expansion of educational statutes after 1865, and everywhere there was a popular feeling that educational facilities should be extended and educational opportunities made more adequate and safe. This feeling was shared by leaders in the South as well as in other sections of the country between the close of the war and the beginnings of congressional reconstruction. During the confusion of these years there was a marked interest in improving provisions for education in several of the Southern States which were expecting to have their relations with the national government restored in accordance with the executive plan of reconstruction. In our own State there is evidence

of this same interest. Although the office of the state superintendent of public instruction was abolished in 1866 that action was not due so much to legislative hostility as to the bankrupt condition of the State and because there was no plan in sight by which this part of the system could be maintained. Moreover, the same Legislature which took this action appropriated funds to relieve the State University and made other efforts to assist the public school system. It may be recalled that at that time a bill passed the House appropriating $75,000 for public school purposes, but the measure was defeated in the Senate. At the next session of the Legislature, at a time of great confusion and uncertainty, when the state governments of the South as organized by the presidential plan were about to be replaced with military governments, the native white citizenship of the State passed acts which authorized taxation for school support and attempted to revive and improve the former school system. And but for the crime which followed, the educational historian would doubtless have a different but a better tale to tell of education in North Carolina and the influences of the Civil War upon it.

The Civil War brought a complete overthrow of a superficial social order which was built on an industrial structure, itself an economic fallacy. The collapse of that order and structure became the means by which the ideal of universal education was eventually to receive a new stimulus. So greatly was this ideal strengthened that its acceptance is today, in our own land at least, well-nigh universal, and shows promise of further extension. What new application will it receive when the days of peace return? Will education be the means of making dollar earners merely, so-called "efficient" mechanisms, to fit only into routine? Will it help men to escape from prejudice and provincialism and develop in them the proper "consciousness of kind," a race-mindedness which measures one's value by his service to his fellows? Will it turn scholarship and science to the construction of hellishly conceived means for destroying the monuments of civilization and the race, or will it seek to lead the human spirit from its sordid surroundings to activities that are beautiful and free, and thus add to the sum total of human happiness in the earth? There must be an education which will battle the attempts to pervert the righteous impulses of the spirit—attempts which force apology from well-meaning men and women who believe in the enrichment of human life and the improvability of the race; an education which will eventually shame and bring into disrepute the terms "races" and "peoples"; an education which will attend more vigorously to the teaching of and the training in the cardinal virtues; which will insist that one's usefulness as a teacher rests not on his ability to measure neurones or to calculate the comparative rapidity of synapses in male

and in female children, but on his power to emancipate human hearts, to give hope and a solemn sense of security to the human spirit, and to quicken the consciences of men. There will be, let us hope, an education which will train the primitive instincts to fight each other into tendencies to fight wrongs wherever found; to fight not for triumph for ourselves, but for humanity; to engage never in selfish battles, but to give ourselves and our children always in conflicts wherever humanity is to be championed; to fight to the last heart-beat that universal Christian democracy may prevail in the earth, that the children of men may forever hereafter live, move, and have their spiritual being free and peaceful.

The South's Pension and Relief Provisions for the Soldiers of the Confederacy

By William H. Glasson,
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This is a time of preparation for war. Men and munitions are being made ready, and a thousand auxiliary enterprises are under way to contribute to the success of the common cause. Among the war measures of the day, none have a greater appeal to our hearts than those which foresee the human wreckage that must inevitably result, and prepare relief and compensation. As our vigorous, upstanding young men put on their uniforms and go to the training camps, our thoughts go ahead of them across the seas to the trenches and the firing line. There some of them must suffer wounds and disease and death that victory may be won and that the honor and safety of our country may be maintained. So we have raised millions of money for the Red Cross and have enlisted the services of devoted men and women in preparing hospitals, and ambulances, and medical and surgical supplies against the death and suffering sure to come.

A measure of protection and relief that anticipates even more fully and humanely the needs of the future is the War Insurance Act signed by President Wilson a few weeks ago. This law provides separation allowances for the families or dependent relatives of our soldiers, it establishes liberal rates of compensation to soldiers who are wounded or contract disease in the military service, and it offers the men in our army and navy the opportunity to secure life or total disability insurance up to $10,000 at the lowest rates that could be obtained in time of peace by able-bodied men such as those who compose our military forces. As Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo has said, this epoch-making law affords our soldiers and sailors "the greatest measure of protection ever offered to its fighting forces by any nation in the history of the world."

At a time like this when the nation has accepted fully its responsibility toward the strong young men who are today preparing to fight our battles and, if necessary, sacrifice health or life in our righteous cause, it is fitting that we should look backward and take account of the manner in which we have discharged our responsibility to those other young men who went forth bravely and with self-sacrifice, in the early sixties, to engage in the conflicts of our Civil War. Those of us who were born after that great struggle and have grown up in time of peace have never

felt so keen an appreciation of what the gray-haired veterans did in the days of their youth as now, when we see the young men of this generation leaving school, college, business house, bank and workshop, and offering all they have for the service and defense of their country. Life is dear to these young men and its richest days are before them, yet they gladly risk their all as they answer the call to the colors. So it was with the young men of other days, with the boys who wore the blue and the boys who wore the gray.

It is now more than half a century since the soldiers of the Union and Confederate armies disbanded and returned to their homes. We are in a position to take the large view of what the Nation and the States have done for the maimed and disabled and for the widows and children of those who lost their lives. As to the Union soldiers, we may say that they have been cared for more liberally than any other soldiers up to the time of the present war. Many of the Northern States have joined the Federal Government in making grants for the relief of indigent soldiers, in maintaining great Soldiers' Homes, in providing institutions for soldiers' widows and orphans, in giving former soldiers preferment in appointments to public office, in exempting veterans from various public obligations and duties, and in providing artificial limbs and appliances for the maimed and disabled. When death has claimed the veterans, under certain circumstances the Federal Government has paid the expenses of their last illness and burial and has erected headstones to mark their graves. Many of the dead have found their last resting place in beautiful National cemeteries.

But the most important provision for the Union veterans has been in the Federal pension system. The Northern soldiers returned triumphant; they had saved the Union. Theirs was the control of the Government. And the Federal power of taxation has been used to collect from all the country—North and South alike—the billions of dollars that have been distributed to the Union veterans and their dependent relatives in the North and West. The subscriptions to the Second Liberty loan a few weeks ago amounted to $4,600,000,000. It was a great triumph of war finance. But more than five billion dollars have been paid out of the National Treasury in Federal pensions since 1865. And hundreds of millions of dollars will yet be expended in pensions to the Union veterans and their widows. In 1910 the Federal pension system distributed $4.55 of public money per capita in the District of Columbia, $4.08 in Maine, $4.04 in Vermont, $3.96 in Kansas, and $3.90 in Indiana. In the same year the per capita distribution for Federal pensions was $.19 in South Carolina, $.21 in Georgia, $.29 in Alabama, $.30 in North Carolina, and $.74 in Virginia. In 1910 South Carolina had about the

same population as Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont taken together. In that year the Federal Government paid out $292,000 in pensions in South Carolina and in the group of New England States a total of $5,800,000. If the single Southern State contributed equally according to its population to the Federal internal revenue and customs taxes with the trio of New England States, the New Englanders enjoyed an advantage for that year of $5,500,000 in the expenditure of the Federal revenues for military pensions.

In giving the above figures, I think I may say that the South has never been hostile to liberal National provision for soldiers who were disabled in the Union armies or for the widows and orphans of the slain. Southern Senators and Representatives in Congress have willingly supported liberal expenditures for these purposes. But unfortunately the Federal pension system has been accompanied by great waste and extravagance in giving pensions to persons who had little just claim. Thus the cost of the system has been vastly increased and Southern States have had to contribute large amounts through Federal taxation for unnecessary pensions in the North and West. In so far as the Federal pension system has been used for political purposes to distribute accumulated surplus from the National Treasury, it has been a heavy and unjust drain on the financial resources of the South.

Notwithstanding the impoverished condition of the South after the Civil War and the unfairly heavy burden placed upon the Southern States by the Federal pension system, the members of the former Confederacy have not failed to undertake to provide pensions and other forms of aid and relief for the disabled and needy among their own Confederate soldiers. To the Federal pensions they were obliged to contribute from the very hour of defeat. But as soon as the South began to recover its wealth and prosperity, one by one every Southern State has established a Confederate pension system. The amounts of the pensions are small as compared with those under the Federal system, but with the increase in resources there has been a constant increase in the state appropriations for Confederate pensions. This has been true in spite of the pressing need of the South for the appropriation of public money for the support of common school and higher education, good roads, sanitation, and the protection of the public health, and for the maintenance of necessary state institutions for the dependent and defective classes.

Several years ago I made an extended inquiry into the subject of Confederate pensions in the course of which I secured information from state officials of all the eleven states which were formerly members of the Confederacy. I secured the facts as to the number of pensioners and

the amount expended in Confederate pensions in each one of these states in 1910. The result was as follows:

CONFEDERATE PENSIONS, 1910

State	*Number of Pensioners*	*Amount Expended in 1910*
Alabama	17,484	$ 857,092
Arkansas	8,764	540,000
Florida	5,905	644,606
Georgia	15,772	937,554
Louisiana	2,750	150,000
Mississippi	9,225	400,000
North Carolina	17,000	450,000
South Carolina	9,592	252,102
Tennessee	7,590	500,000
Texas	11,571	500,000
Virginia	16,000	515,000
	121,653	$ 5,746,354

Though many Southern States have increased their Confederate pension expenditures since 1910, the table is valuable as showing what was being done at that time. It is also valuable for purposes of comparison with the Federal pension expenditures in 1910, to the payment of which the South also contributed. While there were 121,653 Confederate state pensioners who received $5,746,354, there were on the rolls of the Federal Government 921,083 Union pensioners who received $159,975,000. Of the total number of Union pensioners, 75,388 resided in the former Confederate States and received a total of $12,482,000. The average Confederate pension in 1910 to the limited number of really needy veterans was $47.24 for the year. The average annual pension to the far larger list of Union pensioners was $171.90. The Union pensioners in the Southern States received on the average $165.44 in 1910.

The money for the support of the state pension systems for Confederate veterans and their widows is in some states raised by a special direct tax on assessed property. Elsewhere it is paid out of general treasury funds or by a combination of both methods. The central administration of Confederate pension laws is usually intrusted to the State Auditor, or to a state board of pensions, or to a combination of the two. Georgia and Texas each have an elective state officer known as the Commissioner of Pensions to administer the Confederate pension system.

Georgia is the state which has expended most for Confederate pensions. She passed laws in 1879 and 1887 to supply artificial limbs to disabled Confederate soldiers. In 1889 she began regular annual payments to disabled and diseased soldiers, expending $159,000 in that year.

From time to time her pension system was made more liberal. The latest exact statistics I have are those of 1916, when Georgia had 16,845 pensioners and disbursed $1,015,000. Including the year 1916, Georgia had expended nearly twenty million dollars for Confederate pensions, a great amount for a single Southern State. If she has continued to expend at the rate of over a million dollars a year, the total pension outlay is now very close to twenty-one million dollars. Some of the rates being paid by Georgia in 1916 were $150 a year for total loss of sight; for total disability for labor so as to be helpless $100; for the loss of a hand, $100; for incapacity to perform manual labor, $50; for the total loss of hearing, $30; and so on for other disabilities. Indigent Confederate soldiers and the widows of Confederate soldiers received sixty dollars a year. The rates paid for specific disabilities in Georgia are much lower than those paid under the Federal pension system. For instance, the Federal Government pays to former Union soldiers who were disabled in military service $1,200 a year for total loss of sight; $480 a year for total loss of hearing; $360 a year for loss of a hand; $360 a year for incapacity to perform manual labor; and for the loss of a thumb, $96 a year.

Next to Georgia, Alabama is the Southern State which spends the greatest total amount annually for Confederate pensions, and possibly she may have exceeded Georgia in some recent years. Florida has a comparatively small number of Confederate pensioners (4,860 in 1912) and has a special pension tax which enables her to pay more liberal rates than other Southern States. In 1912 she paid $150 a year for such serious injuries as total loss of sight, or loss of both hands or both feet, or for total disability. The Florida rate for inability to earn a livelihood by manual labor is $120 a year. Widows also receive the $120 rate. The average pension in Florida in 1912 was $121.25.

I shall not attempt here to give details regarding pensions in all the Southern States nor to take up that other form of relief which has been generally provided—homes supported by the state and by private organizations for Confederate soldiers and their widows. By 1912 all the Southern States together were spending nearly $7,000,000 a year for Confederate pensions, and, if I had more recent statistics at hand, I am sure that they would show that the amount is by this time considerably larger.

In the remainder of my paper I intend to discuss what will doubtless be of more special interest to this audience—the history of Confederate pensions and relief in North Carolina. For the facts presented in this part of my paper I am much indebted to research carried on at my suggestion by Mr. C. O. Fisher, formerly one of my students and now Presi-

dent White Fellow in Political and Social Science at Cornell University. Mr. Fisher's work was greatly facilitated through the courtesy of Mr. R. D. W. Connor, Secretary of the North Carolina Historical Commission, who gave him access to the Vance manuscripts and other valuable documents.

While the Civil War was in progress, much was done in this State for the aid and relief of the needy families of Confederate soldiers. The principal sources of aid were appropriations and supplies furnished as the result of appropriations by the State Legislature, supplementary appropriations and contributions by the counties, and gifts by voluntary organizations and individuals. Mr. Fisher has calculated that $6,020,000 was appropriated by the General Assembly during the Civil War in grants for the relief of the indigent families of soldiers. The money was apportioned to the several counties on the basis of the white population as shown in the census of 1860, and was distributed under the direction of county authorities.* For those counties whose territory was in possession of the enemy, special provision was made by which the indigent families could get their share direct from the State Treasurer. Of course these appropriations were in depreciated paper money and did not have a purchasing value corresponding to their nominal amount. The reports of the State Treasurer do not show how much was actually disbursed under the various acts. But a great deal of help was undoubtedly given to families left in distress through the loss of the breadwinner.

An even larger amount of aid was given from money raised by counties through the levying of special taxes or the sale of bonds. The records of such county disbursements are fragmentary and incomplete. Information has to be gleaned from the correspondence of the period and from newspapers. In some cases the Legislature gave special authority to counties to levy taxes or sell bonds to raise money for the relief of the families of soldiers. Usually the counties seem to have acted without special authorization from the Legislature. Sometimes money was paid out; sometimes an agent was appointed to purchase supplies and distribute them.

This method of county relief produced many inequalities. In some sections the needy received far better care than in others. For example, Wake County in 1864 distributed supplies rather than money. A lone woman received one-half bushel of meal and five pounds of bacon per month. The allowance per month to a woman with children was five pounds of bacon per head, a half bushel of meal for herself, and an addi-

*For further details, see the article by Mr. C. O. Fisher on "The Relief of Soldiers' Families in North Carolina During the Civil War" in the *South Atlantic Quarterly* for January, 1917.

tional peck of meal for each child. At her option she might take the money equivalent of the above supplies. This would not seem to give much margin above the barest necessities for the support of life. At about the same time the *Fayetteville Observer* reported that the provision made in Cumberland County for assisting the families of soldiers was so liberal that the poor of the county by their own confession had never been so well provided for as since the war. Early in 1865 Guilford County was giving $20 per month to each needy wife and $10 to each dependent child of a Confederate soldier. But prices were so high that this allowance was by no means adequate to supply the necessities of life without supplementary aid from other sources.

It is not possible to give exact information as to the total amount expended by the counties in providing for the aid of the destitute families of Confederate soldiers. In addition to the amount paid out of the receipts of ordinary or special taxation, a very large debt was incurred. Professor Hamilton of the University of North Carolina says in his "Reconstruction in North Carolina" (page 71) that at the close of the Civil War the debts of the counties incurred for the purpose of giving relief to the destitute families of soldiers amounted to more than twenty million dollars.

Large contributions for the relief of soldiers' families were also made by ladies' societies and other organizations as well as by private individuals. The proceeds of many entertainments were devoted to this worthy purpose. In Governor Vance's correspondence is a letter from Major H. A. London, dated September 28, 1863, in which he enclosed $105 which had been raised by the young ladies of Pittsboro in a musical concert given for the relief of soldiers. Hundreds of other organizations throughout the state engaged in similar work. Many private individuals honorably distinguished themselves by aiding the families of soldiers. An instance of especial interest to me is found in a letter which President Braxton Craven of Trinity College wrote Governor Vance on February 24, 1863, in which he stated that he had assumed the responsibility for supplying thirty or forty families with corn. An interesting character engaged in going from place to place to raise funds for soldiers' relief was Miss Mary Ann Buie. She stated in a letter to Governor Vance that she had collected more than half a million dollars for this purpose. So highly appreciated was her work that she was presented with a splendid silver service as a token of esteem. Others, notably Mrs. Agnes Patrick and Rev. Dr. Deems, occupied themselves in providing schools for the education of the orphan children of Confederate soldiers. These few instances of patriotic and public-spirited work by private individuals must suffice, although there were many other cases equally worthy

of mention. In general, it appears from the facts that are available to us that the people of the State during the Civil War discharged with much credit to themselves the duty of caring for the needy families of the soldiers at the front.

After the Civil War, the State was exhausted and the time was not favorable for the provision of a pension system. The first step taken was to provide artificial limbs for soldiers who had lost limbs in service. Although the nature of the arrangement is not clear, it seems certain that even before the War ended the State undertook to furnish artificial limbs at the public expense to private soldiers who needed them. Acts of the General Assembly providing for the supplying of artificial limbs by the State were ratified early in 1866. The disabled soldiers were required to come to Raleigh to have the limbs fitted, and Governor Worth secured a house in which they were able to live while there for that purpose. The railroads gave the veterans free transportation, and the Governor suggested that each one bring his basket of meat and bread with him from home. Later the State agreed to reimburse those who had purchased artificial limbs for themselves and to allow the option of the acceptance of a money commutation in place of the artificial limbs. The giving of commutation to those who had lost limbs also lead to a resolution in 1867 authorizing the payment of $70 to those who had lost both eyes. The expenditures for artificial limbs or commutation continued for many years and finally amounted to $86,000 or more.

As early as March 10, 1866, the Legislature ratified an act authorizing the Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions of each county, a majority of justices being present, to levy and collect, as they deemed necessary, a tax for the benefit of disabled soldiers. The money collected was to be distributed as the court directed. I do not know how far this act was effective in the counties.

After March 1, 1867, there was no further legislation for Confederate soldiers until 1877. It was the Reconstruction period, and the legislatures of that decade had no great sympathy with the needs of disabled Confederate soldiers.

North Carolina made the first permanent provision for the regular payment of pensions to Confederate soldiers by an act of March 12, 1879. This act constituted the county commissioners in each county a board or committee for the relief of the blind and maimed. Soldiers who had lost their sight, or both hands, or both legs, were required to appear at the courthouse before the committee with proof that the disability was incurred in military service. The Judge of the Probate Court transmitted the names and number of the blind and disabled to the Governor. The Governor then authorized the State Treasurer to pay

to said persons the sum of $60 annually as long as they should live. In 1883 this law was amended to make the annual payment to the blind $120 instead of $60. In 1899 soldiers who had become blind since the war were given the benefit of the pension law. The rate for soldiers who had lost both feet or both arms was increased to $120 a year in 1901, and by an act of 1907 the same rate was given to a soldier who had lost one arm and one leg. These laws providing the $120 rate for the totally blind and the seriously maimed constitute a special provision for the class of veterans entitled to the most liberal treatment. The amount of the annual payments to this special class of pensioners is now not far from $13,000 a year. From 1879, when it began, to the present time, this part of the State's pension system has cost nearly $300,000. By way of comparison, it is interesting to note that soldiers who became totally blind as the result of service in the Union Army receive from the Federal Government $1,200 a year, or ten times as much as Confederate soldiers similarly afflicted.

Though the laws of the State authorized the payment of pensions to the totally blind and seriously disabled beginning with 1879, what may be called the regular pension system of the State dates from a law of 1885. This law appropriated $30,000 annually for certain classes of disabled Confederate soldiers. Widows of Confederate soldiers who had lost their lives in service were also included. It is interesting to note that Thomas Dixon, the well-known author, was in 1885, at the age of twenty-one, a member of the House of Representatives from Cleveland County and a vigorous champion of the Confederate pension law. In the Senate, one of its advocates was Judge H. G. Connor, now of the Federal Court of this district.

It is not possible for me here to go into the details of the administration and development of the pension system inaugurated in 1885. I am in hopes that Mr. Fisher, who has made a careful study of the history of the North Carolina pension system from its beginning to the present, will later publish his results. In 1888 there were 1,083 soldiers and 2,625 widows on the pension list, each of whom received the pittance of $8.25 a year. The Legislature of 1889 provided for the levying of a special State tax on property and the polls to create a pension fund. Four classes of pensioners were provided for, graded according to the seriousness of the disability. Widows were placed in the fourth class. In 1890 the amounts actually paid to the various classes were $71, $53.25, $35.50, and $17.75, respectively. As the pension list grew in numbers, not even these modest amounts could be paid in later years. In 1901 the Legislature provided that the special pension tax might be supplemented from the general fund, the total amount to be appropriated for pensions

not to exceed $200,000 a year. In 1903 a revised pension law was passed. The rates authorized for the four classes of pensioners were $72, $60, $48, and $30, provided that the pension appropriation of $200,000 a year was sufficient to pay such rates. The amount proved insufficient. In 1905 the annual appropriation was increased to $275,000, and in 1907 to $400,000. The counties of the State were authorized in 1909 to levy a special tax to raise funds to supplement the Confederate pensions paid by the State. Cumberland County had received authority to do this under an act of 1907. So far as I have been informed, it is the only county which has taken such action.

The State appropriation for Confederate pensions was raised to $450,000 in 1909 and $500,000 in 1911. In the present year it has been advanced to $575,000. There are now, according to information kindly supplied by the State Auditor, 7,099 soldiers pensioned and 5,748 widows. The rates paid to the four classes are $85, $75, $55, and $45 a year. Widows are in the fourth class, except that a small number of blind widows receive the $85 rate. In addition, about 150 totally blind or maimed soldiers receive the $120 a year rate out of the general fund. As the years pass, the number of pensioners is falling off. There are now a total of only 13,000 as compared with over 17,000 in 1911. The general pension law of 1885 and the various amendments and additions thereto down to the present time have caused the expenditure of not far from $7,300,000.

Through the efforts of the Confederate Veterans' Association and other organizations and individuals, the Legislature authorized the establishment of a Confederate Soldiers' Home in 1891 and made a small appropriation. This work had already been begun on a small scale through private initiative. Appropriations were gradually increased and better accommodations provided. The home, which is in Raleigh, now provides for about 175 veterans and the appropriations for 1917 amounted to $42,500. Inmates of the Soldiers' Home are not entitled to the benefits of the regular pension laws. But the Legislature of 1909 passed a law granting to them an annual gift of $6 to be paid in quarterly installments. I suppose this was intended to provide the veterans with spending money for tobacco and other small luxuries. The maintenance of the Soldiers' Home has cost over $500,000 down to 1917. This does not include some special appropriations for building purposes.

Mention should also be made of the establishment by the legislature of 1913 of a Confederate Woman's Home for the needy and deserving wives and widows of Confederate soldiers and for other deserving women of the Confederacy. This home has been located at Fayetteville, and I understand that after some delay it has been opened for its worthy work.

I have made a rough estimate of the amount expended by the state government for pensions and other relief to Confederate soldiers and their widows since the Civil War and through the year 1917. This includes appropriations for artificial limbs and commutation, the expenditures under the various pension laws from the beginning, and the maintenance of the Soldiers' Home at Raleigh. Some small items have doubtless been overlooked or omitted. An approximation of the total is between $8,200,000 and $8,300,000. For a single state—not one of the most wealthy in the Union—this is a large amount. It is especially creditable that so substantial a sum has been expended for this just purpose when we consider that the State has had many other pressing calls upon its treasury and that its people have been indirectly taxed for the support of the Federal pension system.

Compared with the Federal pension system, abuses have been infrequent in the payment of Confederate pensions. Doubtless there have been cases where persons who did not deserve pensions have succeeded in being placed on the roll. But on the whole payments have been confined to those who were disabled or in need. The limited size of the appropriations available has stood in the way of extravagance. There have at times been a few pauper counties which have received more in pensions than they have paid into the State Treasury in taxes, but such a condition has been the rare exception. An analysis made from the State Treasurer's report for 1914 shows the relative size of the pension appropriations and other State appropriations. In that year the appropriations for pensions and soldiers' relief of all kinds amounted to $546,000; for public schools, $736,000; for the higher institutions of learning, $446,000, for institutions for dependent and defective members of society $802,000.

As the young men of North Carolina go forth to another war, it is gratifying to know that the resources of the whole nation are now back of the compensation, relief, and insurance provisions that have been made to protect them, so far as is humanly possible, against the evils and sufferings incidental to warfare. But this fact should lend emphasis to the need and justice of doing all that the resources of our commonwealth permit for the aid and comfort of the poor and disabled among the surviving Confederate soldiers who half a century ago in the days of their youth risked their all in the service of the State.

Medical and Pharmaceutical Conditions in the Confederacy

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In presenting this paper, I wish to state in the beginning that I am more interested in collecting source material than in the analysis and presentation of it in the form of written history. The present paper is an effort to present to you some interesting facts from items in my collection. As there is source material lacking in the collection, you will find gaps in this paper. In considering the subject, Medical and Pharmaceutical Conditions in the Confederacy, with particular reference to North Carolina, some idea of the conditions prevailing during the early part of the war should be kept in mind. First, that medicines, surgical instruments, and supplies were treated as contraband of war by the United States; second, that before the war, and in the first part of it, surgeons, hospital attendants, nurses, and ambulance drivers had no status in international law other than that accorded the soldiers on the field; third, that for a part of the war prisoners were not exchanged, this fact resulting, as far as the South was concerned, in the overcrowding of prisons, thus overtaxing an inadequate supply of medicines and of foods suitable for a sick diet. It is the purpose of this paper to discuss these facts as introductory to the consideration of the general subject.

The Medical Department of the regular army of the United States at the outbreak of the Civil War was composed of:

One surgeon-general, with the rank of colonel;

Thirty surgeons, with the rank of major;

Eighty-four assistant surgeons with the rank of first lieutenant for the first five years of service; thereafter with that of captain until promoted to major.

There was no hospital corps. Nursing and hospital help was performed at first by soldiers detailed for this duty from the regular line. This Medical Department was a coördinate branch of the general staff, without its members being attached to any regiment or command. Their services could be demanded wherever needed. In short, the Medical Corps was too small for a war that developed to such huge proportions, and no adequate or suitable provision had been made for its expansion. Thus the medical staff of trained officers, 115 in all, was the nucleus of the Hospital Service for the army. From these, twenty-seven of Southern birth or sympathy resigned, three to a private practice, while twenty-four

tendered their services to the Confederacy and became in turn the nucleus of the Medical Corps of the Confederate Army. Dr. Samuel P. Moore, of South Carolina, major and surgeon of the United States Army, became Surgeon-General of the Confederate Army, and remained so during the war.

The medical corps of the Union reached ten thousand.[1] Records show that the casualties among the regular and volunteer Federal medical officers were thirty-two killed in battle, nine killed by accident, eighty-three wounded in action, of whom ten died—four in Confederate prisons, seven of yellow fever, three of cholera, and two hundred and seventy-one of other diseases incidental to camp life or exposure in the field.[2] Other facts in regard to the Federal Medical Corps are on record in the Medical and Surgical History of the War of the Rebellion, covering the period from May, 1862, to the end of the war.

When the Federal army occupied Richmond, the conflagration of April 2, 1865, destroyed the house occupied by Surgeon-General Moore, and the adjoining building, stored with his papers and records. This loss precludes a detailed statement depending upon official records. An interesting source of information can be found in the library of the University of North Carolina, the *Confederate States Medical and Surgical Journal,* including the rare number, the thirteenth, of which there are only one or two other copies in existence. This magazine was published in Richmond in 1864-5, and includes original papers, letters, and hospital reports which furnish many interesting items obtainable, so far as I know, from no other source.

Dr. Edward Warren reported the loss of valuable papers from the Medical Department of North Carolina by a band of raiders.

The organization of the Confederate Medical Department was modeled at the outbreak of the war after that of the Union Army. The medical staff was composed of three grades of rank: One surgeon-general, with rank, emoluments, and allowances of a brigadier general of cavalry; about one thousand surgeons with rank, allowances, and emoluments of a major of cavalry; and about two thousand assistant surgeons, with the rank of captain of cavalry.[3]

In 1861, Charles E. Johnson, M.D., Surgeon-General of North Carolina, published "Regulations for the Medical Department of the Military Forces of North Carolina," as follows:

REGULATIONS FOR THE MEDICAL DEPARTMENT

1. The Surgeon General, under the authority of the Governor, and the Military Laws of the State, is charged with the administrative details of the

[1]Photographic History of the Civil War, Vol. VII, p. 226.
[2]*Ibid.*, Vol. VII, p. 228.
[3]Phot. Hist. Civil War, Vol. VII, Appendix D, p. 349.

Medical Department, the government of hospitals, the regulation of the duties of Surgeons and Assistant Surgeons, and the assignment of Surgeons or Assistant Surgeons, where needed, for local or detached service. He will issue orders and instructions relating to their professional duties, and all communications from them, which require his action, will be made directly to him.

2. The medical supplies required by Surgeons and Assistant Surgeons will be obtained by a requisition on the Surgeon General, a duplicate of the requisition of the Surgeon or Assistant Surgeon being furnished to be filed.

3. When a medical officer transfers medical supplies to another, or to a different post, he will take a receipt for the same.

4. Medical officers will account for all medical supplies that come into their possession.

5. The senior medical officer of a hospital will distribute the patients, according to convenience and the nature of their complaints, into wards or divisions, under the particular charge of the Assistant Surgeons, and will visit them himself each day, as frequently as the sick or wounded may require, accompanied by the Assistant, Hospital Steward, and Nurse.

6. His prescriptions of medicine and diet are daily to be written down in a register, with the name of the patient and number of the bed; and the Assistant or Steward, in his absence, will see that the directions are carried out.

7. He will, if in charge of a hospital or post, with the approval of the commanding officer, appoint a steward, cooks, and nurses, who will be under his orders.

8. He will enforce the proper hospital regulations to promote health and prevent contagion, by ventilated and not crowded rooms, scrupulous cleanliness, changes of bed linen, etc.

9. At the Surgeon's call the sick in each company will be conducted to the hospital by the First Sergeant, who will hand to the Surgeon in his company book a list of all the sick, on which list the Surgeon shall state who are to remain or go into hospital; who are to return to quarters as sick or convalescent; what duties the convalescents in quarters are capable of, or any other information in regard to the sick of the company which he may have to communicate to the commander, and report to him. (Form 1.)

10. Soldiers in hospital, patients or attendants, except stewards, shall be mustered on the rolls of the hospital department.

11. When a patient is transferred from one hospital to another, the medical officer shall send with him an account of his case and the treatment. (Form 4.)

12. The regulations for the service of hospitals apply as far as practicable to the service in the field.

13. The senior medical officer of each hospital, post, regiment or detachment, will keep the following records: a register of patients (Form 2), a prescription and diet book (Form 3), a case book, copies of his requisitions, monthly returns of sick and wounded, an order and letter book, in which will be transcribed all orders and letters relating to his duties.

14. Ordinarily, hospital attendants are allowed as follows: to a general hospital, one steward, one nurse to ten patients, and one cook to thirty; to a post or garrison of one company, one steward, one nurse, one cook, and for every two companies more, one nurse.

15. Medical officers, in giving certificates of disability, are to take particular care in all cases which have been under their charge, and especially in epi-

lepsy, convulsions, chronic rheumatism, gout, derangement of the urinary organs, ophthalmia, ulcers, or any obscure diseases.

16. As soon as companies are organized and offered for service, the Surgeon or Assistant Surgeon will examine the members and vaccinate them, if necessary.

17. Every medical officer will report to the Surgeon-General the date when he arrives at a station, or when he leaves it, and his orders in the case.

18. Surgeons will make to the Surgeon-General a monthly return (Form 7) of the medical officers of the Command, and a consolidated monthly report of the sick and wounded from the several reports made to them; giving the disease, name, regiment and company, discharges and deaths (Form 5). Also a return of medicines, instruments, hospital stores, furniture, etc. (Form 6).

19. If it be at any time necessary to employ a private physician, the commanding officer may do it by written contract, reporting a duplicate to the Surgeon-General.

20. Assistant Surgeons will obey the orders of their Senior Surgeon; see that subordinate officers do their duty, and aid in enforcing the regulations of the hospital.

21. The Steward will take charge of all hospital stores, instruments, furniture of every description, and supplies for the sick; keep a roster of nurses and attendants; and make out returns for rations, according to the number in hospital; receive and distribute rations, and submit his book to the Surgeon, monthly, for examination, or oftener if required. He will issue the stores to nurses and cooks, and enter the amount delivered in his book. He will be responsible for furniture, bedding, cooking utensils, etc., and keep the storeroom neat and clean. (Form 6.)

22. In the management of hospitals and posts, cleanliness, order, regularity in meals, attention to cooking, and special care of the sick and wounded, are particularly enjoined upon the medical officers.

23. In passing a recruit, the medical officer is to examine him stripped; to see that he has free use of all his limbs; that his chest is ample; that his hearing, vision, and speech are perfect; and that he is not suffering from any disorder or infirmity that may unfit him for military service.

After these regulations, there was printed as a guide to surgeons, "Directions to Army Surgeons," from a pamphlet on the Hospital Brigade, by G. J. Guthrie, Surgeon-General to the British forces in the Crimean War. This was followed by types of the Eight Form Reports for the Medical Department, to be used by the practicing physicians and surgeons:

1. Morning Report of the surgeon of a regiment, post, or garrison.
2. Register of Patient and
3. Prescription Book and Diet Book.
4. Report to be sent with patients to a general hospital.
5. Discharges and Deaths.
6. Return of medicines, instruments, hospital stores, furniture, etc.
7. Monthly Report of the sick and wounded.
8. Report of recruits examined.

If these, when filled out, had not been destroyed, we would have had source material for a Medical History of the Confederacy.

The "Regulations" and the "Directions to Army Surgeons," printed in pamphlet form by Strother & Marcom, Raleigh, N. C., 1861, were used as guides for the medical forces.

LEGAL STATUS OF THE ARMY SURGEON

Previous to the War of Secession, the status of the surgeons, medical men, and hospital attendants was not clearly defined in international law nor the treatment of them differentiated from that visited upon active combatants in the practice of belligerent armies and nations. They were made prisoners of war when captured and were subjected, so far as can be ascertained, to the same treatment as the soldier in the field. Thus when attending the wounded during a battle, the surgeons, in case the enemy because of the fortunes of war were able to approach them, either had to abandon the sufferers and retire with their friends or submit to capture and afterwards undergo the hardships of imprisonment. The fears which thus assailed the medical man and the frequent abandonment and disregard of the wounded, instead of mitigating, often accentuated the horrors of war. This practice was changed in the early part of the Civil War. The incident which led to its discontinuance and which contributed to the establishment in the law of nations, as a great beneficent and humanitarian measure, of the present system which neutralizes medical men, hospital supplies, and nurses, is associated with the name of Stonewall Jackson. During the Battle of Winchester, May 25, 1862, Jackson's forces captured the Federal hospital, the doctors, attendants, nurses, and wounded. The Confederate general ordered the Federal brigade surgeon, Dr. Peale, to remain in charge of the hospital and continue his duties to the sick and wounded. Jackson then went a step further and performed one of those magnanimous acts which has endeared him to the South. The surgeons and assistant surgeons were "unconditionally released" after they had pledged themselves "on their honor" to report in person to the Secretary of War of the United States and to exercise their influence and "best efforts that the same number of medical officers of the Confederate States Army, now prisoners, or who may be hereafter taken, be released on the same terms." This was done in order that this principle should be established thereafter in the relations of the Confederacy with the United States. Jackson also felt that physicians, since they had not caused the war, and since they did not fight in the battles, should not be compelled to suffer the consequences which occurred to those who had done these things. It is not too much to claim

that the action of Jackson contributed to the foundation in the world of the Red Cross, if it did not actually originate it, as this action anticipated the first Geneva Conference by a year and the official Geneva Conference by nearly two years. It was fitting that the Confederate Government should await the action of the Washington authorities on the conduct and suggestion of Jackson.

That action came on July 6, a week after the Battle of Seven Pines or Fair Oaks, when a general order was issued from Washington to the effect that surgeons should be considered noncombatants and not sent to prison when captured. Respecting this matter, a correspondence, characterized by the utmost courtesy on both sides, followed between General McClellan and General Lee, and resulted, on July 17th, in the acceptance by General Lee for the Confederacy of the idea presented by the order as a definite policy. In the formal military regulations of the United States, this method of treating members of the medical staff was embodied in section 53 of the famous general order, No. 100, written by Francis Lieber and published by the United States Government, April 24, 1863.

HOSPITAL SERVICE

The Confederate Government followed for the most part the plan of the Union Army in the establishment of hospitals; i. e., when troops began to go into camp, at the commencement of the war, each regiment established a Regimental Hospital constructed on a general plan. When several regiments were grouped as brigades, the Regimental Hospitals were placed at one point, thus developing the Brigade Hospital system. This same plan led to the forming of Division Hospitals formed by the uniting of Brigade Hospitals. When war began it was necessary to organize other hospitals, more permanent in character, to provide for the sick, that could not be moved, for the wounded after a battle, and for those demanding protracted treatment. These were known as General Hospitals, which were in turn emptied by removing patients to points further removed from the field of action. Limitations of space forbid the tracing of this development, hampered by questions as to authority, retarded by cases of inefficiency, beset by instances of graft, up to the final organization that prevailed at the close of the war. In our State public criticism was first caused by the large number of deaths in camp from measles and pneumonia. This led to an attack on the method of appointing surgeons, and to the question of medical supplies, which at first were not in the hands of any medical department.[4] The lack of a centralized purchasing board originated difficulties then, just as now, and leads one

[4]A Plea for the Medical Staff of Our Army. E. D. Fenner, N. C. Med. Jr., 1861, Vol. III, p. 659.

to the conclusion that mankind is very slow in learning from experience. A very complete list of hospitals throughout the Confederate States is given below. The small number given for Richmond, for instance, might be misleading as to the large number of hospitals there at various times, and for that reason other lists for Richmond are appended. In fact, private hospitals became so numerous that they were ordered discontinued, none being allowed unless under the supervision of a commissioned officer with a rank not lower than that of captain (the rank of an assistant surgeon).[5]

SURGEON-GENERAL AND MEDICAL OFFICERS ON DUTY IN HIS OFFICE.

S. P. MOORE, Surgeon-General, C. S. Army.
C. H. SMITH, Surgeon, C. S. Army.
THOMAS H. WILLIAMS, Surgeon, C. S. Army.
F. SORREL, Surgeon, C. S. Army.
CHARLES BREWER, Surgeon, P. A. C. S.
HERMAN BAER, Surgeon, P. A. C. S.

MEDICAL DIRECTORS IN THE FIELD.

Surgeon L. Guild.....Army Northern Virginia.
Surgeon H. McGuire.....Ewell's Corps, Army Northern Virginia.
Surgeon J. D. S. Cullen.....Longstreet's Corps, Army Northern Virginia.
Surgeon J. W. Powell.....Hill's Corps, Army Northern Virginia.
Surgeon J. B. Fontaine.....Calvary Corps, Army Northern Virginia.
Surgeon John A. Hunter.....Beckinridge's Command, Army Northern Virginia.
Surgeon R. L. Brodie.....Beauregard's Command, Army Northern Virginia.
Surgeon T. L. Ozier, temp.....Charleston, S. C.
Surgeon A. J. Foard.....Army of Tennessee.
Surgeon J. H. Erskine.....Hindman's Corps, Army of Tennessee.
Surgeon A. L. Breysacker.....Hardee's Corps, Army of Tennessee.
Surgeon P. B. Scott.....Meridian, Miss.
Surgeon F. A. Stanford.....Wheeler's Cavalry Corps.
Surgeon J. F. Heustis.....Mobile, Ala.
Surgeon John M. Haden.....Marshall, Texas.
Surgeon J. H. Berrien.....Houston, Texas.
Surgeon J. T. Darby.....Stewart's Corps (late Polk's).
Surgeon William Jennings.....Morgan's Command.

MEDICAL DIRECTORS OF HOSPITALS.

Surgeon W. A. Carrington.....Richmond, Va.
Surgeon F. A. Ramsey.....Bristol, Tenn.
Surgeon P. E. Hines.....Raleigh, N. C.
Surgeon N. S. Crowell.....Charleston, S. C.
Surgeon S. H. Stout.....Macon, Ga.
Surgeon S. A. Smith.....Alexandria, La.
Surgeon J. F. Heustis.....Mobile, Ala.
Surgeon P. B. Scott.....Meridian, Miss.

[5]Med. and Surg. Hist. of the War of the Rebellion, Part I. Introduction, p. XXV.

MEDICAL INSPECTORS IN THE FIELD.

Surgeon W. D. Tucker.....Department of Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana.
Surgeon Samuel Choppin.....Department of North Carolina and Southern Virginia.
Surgeon R. J. Breckinridge.....Department of Army of Northern Virginia.
Surgeon J. W. Breedlove.....Western Virginia.
Surgeon E. N. Covey.....Virginia, Tennessee, and Georgia, and Superintendent of Vaccination of armies in these States.
Surgeon W. W. Anderson.....North Carolina, South Carolina, Alabama, Florida, Louisiana, and Mississippi, and Superintendent of Vaccination of armies in these States.

MEDICAL INSPECTORS OF HOSPITALS.

Surgeon T. C. Madison.....Petersburg, Va.
Surgeon F. Sorrell.....Richmond, Va.
Surgeon E. S. Gaillard.....Box 1150, Richmond, Va.
Surgeon R. A. Kinloch.....Charleston, S. C.
Surgeon W. M. Brown.....Morton, Miss.
Surgeon E. A. Flewellen.....Army of Tennessee.
Surgeon J. H. Morton.....Abingdon, Va.

ARMY MEDICAL BOARDS.

Surgeon A. N. Talley, *President of Board*.....Richmond, Va.
Surgeon E. Geddings, *President of Board*.....Charleston, S. C.
Surgeon W. M. Brown, *President of Board*.....General Hood's Headquarters.
Surgeon J. J. Gaenslen, *President of Board*.....General E. K. Smith's Headquarters.
Surgeon —. —. Hooper, *President of Board*....Trans-Mississippi Department.

MEDICAL PURVEYORS.

Surgeon E. W. Johns, C. S. A.....Richmond, Va.
Surgeon J. S. Johnson, P. A. C. S.....Charlotte, N. C.
Surgeon J. J. Chisolm, P. A. C. S.....Columbia, S. C.
Surgeon W. H. Priolean, P. A. C. S.....Macon, Ga.
Surgeon G. S. Blackie, P. A. C. S.....Augusta, Ga.
Surgeon W. H. Anderson, P. A. C. S.....Montgomery, Ala.
Surgeon R. Miller, P. A. C. S.....Mobile, Ala.
Surgeon R. Potts, P. A. C. S.....Montgomery, Ala.
Surgeon R. K. Taylor, P. A. C. S.....Lynchburg, Va.
Surgeon J. E. A. Davidson, P. A. C. S.....Quincy, Fla.
Surgeon H. P. Howard, P. A. C. S.....San Antonio, Texas.
Surgeon J. P. Bond, P. A. C. S.....Camden, Ark.
Surgeon H. Stockdell, P. A. C. S.....Wilmington, N. C.
Surgeon W. H. Geddings, P. A. C. S.....Army of Northern Virginia.
Surgeon W. C. Boon, P. A. C. S.....Bonham, Texas.
Surgeon R. M. Sutfield, P. A. C. S.....Columbus, Ga.
Surgeon John Clopton, P. A. C. S.....Danville, Va.
Surgeon Howard Smith, P. A. C. S.....Houston, Texas.
Surgeon E. H. C. Bailey, P. A. C. S.....Demopolis, Ala.

Surgeon Thomas Liming, P. A. C. S. ..... Charleston, S. C.
Surgeon J. W. Hines, P. A. C. S. ..... Richmond, Va.
Surgeon Bushrod Taylor, P. A. C. S. ..... Army of Valley District.
Assistant Surgeon R. Q. Stoney, P. A. C. S. ..... Savannah, Ga.
Assistant Surgeon W. Morrow, P. A. C. S. ..... Army of Tennessee.
Assistant Surgeon W. B. Robertson, P. A. C. S. ..... Wytheville, Va.
Assistant Surgeon J. C. Stickney, P. A. C. S. ..... Columbus, Ga.
Assistant Surgeon Z. B. Herndon, P. A. C. S. ..... Lake City, Fla.
Assistant Surgeon J. F. Young, P. A. C. S. ..... Columbus, Ga.
Assistant Surgeon W. H. Baldwin, P. A. C. S. ..... Houston, Texas.
Assistant Surgeon P. J. Johnson, P. A. C. S. ..... Alexandria, La.
Assistant Surgeon H. C. Rogers, P. A. C. S. ..... Shreveport, La.
Assistant Surgeon E. Cross, P. A. C. S. ..... Doaksville, N. C.

HOSPITALS IN THE CONFEDERATE STATES.

VIRGINIA.

Hospital.	*Location.*	*Medical Officer.*
Chimborazo	Richmond	Surg. J. B. McCaw.
Camp Jackson	Richmond	Surg. F. W. Hancock.
Camp Winder	Richmond	Surg. A. G. Lane.
Camp Lee	Richmond	Surg. W. P. Palmer.
Howard's Grove	Richmond	Surg. T. M. Palmer.
Stuart	Richmond	Surg. R. A. Lewis.
Louisiana	Richmond	Surg. W. C. Nichol.
General, No. 9	Richmond	Surg. J. J. Gravatt.
General, No. 13	Richmond	Surg. H. T. Barton.
General, No. 21	Richmond	Surg. G. W. Semple.
General, No. 24 (Moore)	Richmond	Surg. O. F. Manson.
General	Liberty	Surg. B. Blackford.
General	Huguenot Springs	Surg. W. T. Walker.
General	Gordonsville	Surg. B. M. Lebby.
General, No. 1	Lynchburg	Surg. G. W. Thornhill.
General, No. 2	Lynchburg	Surg. W. C. N. Randolph.
General, No. 3	Lynchburg	Surg. T. H. Fisher.
Ladies' Relief	Lynchburg	Surg. W. C. Warren.
Pratt	Lynchburg	Surg. J. H. Murray.
Way	Lynchburg	Surg. A. C. Smith.
General	Farmville	Surg. H. D. Taliaferro.
General	Danville	Surg. J. F. Fauntleroy.
General	Staunton	Surg. A. M. Fauntleroy.
Confederate States	Petersburg	
General	Petersburg	
South Carolina	Petersburg	Surg. F. Peyer Porcher.
Poplar Lawn	Petersburg	Surg. R. P. Page.
Wayside	Petersburg	Surg. M. P. Scott.
Smallpox	Petersburg	A. A. Surg. C. F. Couch.
North Carolina	Petersburg	Surg. J. G. Brodnax.
Virginia	Petersburg	Surg. J. H. Pottenger.
General	Pearisburg	Surg. T. Creigh.
General	Charlottesville	Surg. J. L. Cabell.

Hospital.	*Location.*	*Medical Officer.*
General	Montgomery Springs	Surg. J. L. Woodville.
General	Emory	Surg. J. B. Murfree.
General	Harrisonburg	Surg. A. R. Meem.
Washington	Abingdon	Surg. H. A. Blair.
Wayside	Burkeville	Dr. T. R. Blandy.
Beckinridge	Marion	Surg. R. D. Hamilton.

North Carolina.

Way, No. 5	Wilmington	Surg. J. C. Walker.
General, No. 4	Wilmington	Surg. T. R. Micks.
General, No. 5	Wilmington	Surg. H. H. J. Macon.
Way, No. 7	Tarboro	Dr. J. H. Baker.
Way, No. 1	Weldon	Surg. H. H. Hunter.
Way, No. 6	Charlotte	Surg. J. W. Ashby.
General, No. 11	Charlotte	Surg. J. W. Ashby.
General Military, No. 2	Wilson	Surg. S. S. Satchwell.
Way	Goldsboro	Dr. L. A. Stith.
General, No. 3	Goldsboro	Surg. W. A. Holt.
General, No. 7	Raleigh	Surg. E. B. Haywood.
General, No. 8	Raleigh	Surg. H. G. Leigh.
Pettigrew	Raleigh	Surg. E. B. Haywood.
Sorrel	Asheville	Surg. W. L. Hilliard.
General, No. 9	Salisbury	Asst. Surg. J. M. Fauntleroy.
General, No. 10	Salisbury	Surg. J. W. Hall.
Way, No. 3	Salisbury	Surg. J. W. Hall.
General, No. 6	Fayetteville	Surg. B. F. Fessenden.
General, No. 1	Kittrell Springs	Surg. H. F. Butt.
General, No. 12	Greensboro	Surg. W. H. Moore.
Way, No. 2	Greensboro	Surg. E. B. Holland.

South Carolina.

Ladies' General, No. 3	Columbia	Surg. R. H. Edmonds.
General, No. 1	Columbia	Surg. W. C. Horlbeck.
Second North Carolina	Columbia	Surg. A. W. Thomson.
Way	Kingsville	Surg. J. A. Pleasants.
Third North Carolina	Charleston	Surg. T. B. Memminger.
First South Carolina	Charleston	Surg. G. R. C. Todd.
First Louisiana	Charleston	Surg. R. Lebby.
General	Georgetown	Surg. B. C. Fishburne.
First Georgia	Charleston	Surg. N. H. Cumming.
Soldier's Relief	Charleston	Surg. W. H. Huger.
Way	Florence	Surg. T. A. Dargan.
Way	Greenville	Surg. G. S. Trezevant.

Georgia.

Erwin	Barnesville	Surg. J. A. Groves.
Way	Fort Gaines	Surg. E. W. McCreery.
General, No. 1	Savannah	Surg. W. G. Bulloch.

Hospital.	*Location.*	*Medical Officer.*
General, No. 2	Savannah	Surg. W. R. Waring.
General	Columbus	Surg. J. S. White.
Third Georgia	Augusta	Surg. J. F. McGeddings.
Hardee	Forsyth	Surg. William Webb.
Clayton	Forsyth	Surg. John Patterson.
General	Guyton	Surg. W. S. Lawton.
Lumpkin	Covington	Surg. E. McDonald.
Asylum	Madison	Surg. H. H. Clayton.
Kingston	Kingston	Surg. G. W. McDade.
Polk	Atlanta	Surg. R. Battey.
Bragg	Newnan	Surg. J. Gore.
Foard	Newnan	Surg. J. N. Hughes.
Buckner	Newnan	Surg. W. T. McAllister.
Cannon	LaGrange	Surg. L. W. Tuttle.
St. Mary's	LaGrange	Surg. J. M. Henson.
Law	LaGrange	Surg. A. Erskine.
Oliver	LaGrange	Surg. J. Williams.
Hood	Covington	Surg. D. H. Morrison.
Dawson	Greensboro	Surg. J. D. Smith.
Gilmer	Marietta	Surg. P. H. Otey.
Academy	Marietta	Surg. F. Hawthorne.
Foard	Marietta	Surg. J. B. Barnett.
Bell	Greensboro	Surg. H. V. Miller.
Blackie	Madison	Surg. J. T. M. Law.
Prin	Griffin	Surg. L. C. Pynchan.
Director	Griffin	Surg. R. M. Little.
Quintard	Griffin	Asst. Surg. S. V. D. Hill.
Stout	Madison	Surg. J. W. Glenn.
Newsom	Thomaston	Surg. A. Hunter.
Fairground, No. 1	near Macon	Surg. G. G. Crawford.
Fairground, No. 2	near Macon	Surg. H. W. Brown.
Empire	near Macon	Surg. W. P. Hardin.
Grant	near Macon	Surg. J. C. Mullens.
Institute	near Macon	Surg. D. C. O'Keefe.
Hill	Covington	Surg. W. H. Robertson.
Ocmulgee	Macon	Surg. S. E. Chaille.
City Hall	Macon	Surg. L. L. Saunders.
Blind School	Macon	Surg. George F. Cooper.
Floyd House	Macon	Surg. E. J. Roach.
Catoosa	Griffin	Surg. C. L. Herbert.
Medical College	near Macon	Surg. W. F. Westmoreland.
First Florida	Fort Gaines	Surg. J. F. M. Gaston.
Reid	West Point	Surg. J. W. Oslin.
Gamble	Newnan	Surg. K. C. Divine.
Marshall	Columbus	Surg. T. A. Means.
Stout	Macon	Surg. I. Parker.
Lee	Columbus	Surg. W. A. Robertson.

Alabama.

Hospital.	*Location.*	*Medical Officer.*
Nott	Mobile	Surg. G. A. Nott.
General	Mobile	Surg. W. C. Cavanaugh.
General	Greenville	Asst. Surg. R. B. Maury.
Way	Demopolis	Surg. H. Hinckley.
General	Tuscaloosa	Surg. R. N. Anderson.
General	Selma	Surg. A. Hurt.
Way	Talladega	Surg. G. S. Bryant.
General	Spring Hill	Surg. G. Owen.
General (Ross)	Mobile	Surg. S. L. Nidelet.
Way	Selma	Surg. W. Currie.
Ladies'	Montgomery	Surg. T. F. Duncan.
Stonewall	Montgomery	Surg. W. M. Cole.
Way	Eufaula	Surg. P. D. L. Baker.
General (Canty)	Mobile	Surg. W. Henderson.
General (Levart)	Mobile	Surg. R. H. Redwood.
Madison House	Montgomery	Surg. C. J. Clark.
Texas	Auburn	Asst. Surg. L. A. Bryan.
St. Mary's	Montgomery	Surg. J. H. Watters.
General	Notasulga	Surg. U. R. Jones.
Concert Hill	Montgomery	Surg. W. J. Holt.
Watts	Montgomery	Surg. F. M. Hereford.
Officers	Uniontown	Surg. G. C. Gray.
General	Shelby Springs	Surg. B. H. Thomas.

Mississippi.

General	Grenada	Surg. J. L. Thompson.
Way	Guntown	Surg. J. M. Hoyle.
	Liberty	Surg. R. L. Luckett.

Florida.

General	Quincy	Surg. J. H. Thompson.
General	Tallahassee	Surg. E. Geddings.
General	Lake City	Surg. J. S. Morel.
Way	Madison	Asst. Surg. J. Cohen.

Tennessee.

General	Bristol	Surg. R. D. Hamilton.
Hood	Bristol	Asst. Surg. J. T. Love.

MEDICAL LABORATORIES.

Surgeon A. S. Piggot, in charge at Lincolnton, N. C.
Surgeon R. M. Johnson, in charge at Tyler, Texas.
Surgeon W. H. Priolean, in charge at Macon, Ga.
Surgeon G. L. Blackie, in charge at Augusta, Ga.
Surgeon J. J. Chisolm, in charge at Columbia, S. C.

DIRECTORY FOR THE HOSPITALS

First Alabama—Broad, between Twenty-fourth and Twenty-fifth streets.
Second Alabama—Corner of Franklin and Twenty-fifth streets.
Third Alabama—Corner of Franklin and Twentieth streets.
Atkinson's—Main, between Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth streets.
Banner—Corner of Franklin and Nineteenth streets.
Baptist Church—Fourth Street, between Leigh and Laurel.
Bailey's—Seventh Street, between Main and Cary.
Bosher's—Corner of Ninth and Main streets.
Byrd Island—Southern terminus of Ninth Street.
Bacon & Baskerville—Cary, between Twelfth and Thirteenth.
Bellevue—Church Hill, near Twenty-second Street.
Breeden & Fox—Corner of Broad and Fourth streets.
Centenary—Basement of Cent. Ch., Grace Street.
Crawford's—Tenth, between Main and Cary streets.
Central—C. R. R. Depot, corner Seventeenth and Broad.
Christian & Lea—Twenty-fifth, between Main and Franklin.
Co. G's Hall—Twenty-eighth Street, between M and N.
Crew's—Corner of Cary and Twenty-first streets.
Chimborazo—Foot of Broad, beyond C. Hill.
College—Corner of Eleventh and Marshall streets.
Clopton's—Franklin, between Third and Fourth streets.
C. S. Naval—Governor, between Main and Franklin.
Danville W. S.—Manchester.
Dooley's—81 Main Street, below Fourteenth.
Dunlot Moncure & Co.—Corner of Eleventh and Cary.
First Georgia—Twenty-first, between Main and Cary.
Second Georgia—Twentieth, between Main and Franklin.
Third Georgia—Corner of Twenty-fourth and Franklin.
Fourth Georgia—Twenty-first, between Main and Cary.
Globe—Nineteenth between Main and Franklin.
General—Northern terminus of Second Street.
Greanor's—Twenty-first, between Main and Franklin.
Gwathmey's—Corner of Thirty-fifth and Cary.
Harrison's—Franklin, between Fourth and Fifth.
Henningsen's—Locust Alley.
Howard's—
Howard's Grove—Mechanicsville Turnpike.
Institute—Tenth, between Marshall and Clay.
Kent Paine & Co's—163 Main Street.
Keen Baldwin & Williams'—116 Main Street.
Louisiana—Western terminus of Broad Street.
Ligon's—Main Street, between Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth.
Moore's—
Masonic Hall—Church Hill.
Medical College—Same as "College."
Mayo & Dibbrell's—
Old Market—Corner of Seventeenth and Main streets.

Robertson's—Corner of Main and Third streets.
Richardson's—95 Main Street.
Royster's—Twenty-fifth between Main and Franklin.
Ross'—Main, between Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth streets.
Randolph's—Main Street, near Rockets.
Soldiers' Home—Corner of Clay and Henry.
Soldiers' Rest—Clay, between Fifth and Sixth.
Samaritan—Same as the above.
St. Frances D'Sale's—Brook Avenue.
Spotswood—Under the Spotswood Hotel.
St. Charles'—Corner of Main and Wall streets.
South Carolina—Manchester.
Seabrooks—Corner of Grace and Eighteenth streets.
Union—Corner of Nineteenth and Main streets.
Winder—Western terminus of Cary Street.

Several of the above hospitals have been discontinued, having been established for the temporary accommodation of the wounded.

In the list of Richmond hospitals, October 2, 1861, we find: Branch Hospital, 53 patients; Springfield, 17; School House, No. 1, 21; No. 2, 18; No. 3, 12; Clay, 62; Sycamore, 39; Warwick, 32.

Taken from a "List of the Wounded from the State of North Carolina in the Battle of Richmond." From June 26th to July 1st, 1862. Compiled by P. F. Pescud, Medical Purveyor of North Carolina, under the direction of Charles E. Johnson, Surgeon-General of North Carolina.

It is interesting to note that a protest against thus closing her hospital, the Robertson Hospital, corner Main and Third streets, Richmond, opened entirely at the expense of Miss Sally L. Tompkins, resulted, on appeal to President Davis, after investigation of the excellent results from this hospital, in the appointment of Miss Tompkins as captain, and thus continuing this hospital.[6]

The first military hospital organized in the State was the Pettigrew Hospital located on the old Fair Grounds at Raleigh, near the present Soldiers' Home. This was accomplished through the efforts of Dr. E. Burke Haywood.[7] W. H. Dodd was employed as druggist, Miss Mary L. Pettigrew served as matron until transferred to Chimborazo Hospital, Richmond. The first Regimental Hospital was organized by Dr. P. E. Hines, then of New Bern, later of Raleigh.[8] From the list previously given, North Carolina had its hospitals distributed as follows: three in Wilmington, one in Tarboro, one in Weldon, two in Charlotte, one in Wilson, two in Goldsboro, three in Raleigh, one in Asheville, three in Salisbury, one in Fayetteville, one at Kittrell Springs, and two in Greensboro—a total of twenty-one.

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[6]Southern Practitioner, Vol. XXXI, pp. 532, 533.
[7]R. H. Bradley in N. C. Reg. Clark, Vol. V, Addenda, p. 37.
[8]*Ibid.*

On May 22, 1861, the Medical Department of the State, appointed by the Governor with advice and consent of the Military Board, was as follows:

ARMY, SURGEONS—P. E. Hines, First Regiment Volunteers; John Johnson, Second Regiment Volunteers.

ASSISTANT SURGEONS—Joseph H. Baker, First Regiment Volunteers; John G. Hardy, John F. Miller, and Wm. S. Moody, Second Regiment Volunteers.

NAVY, SURGEONS—Edward Warren, Wyatt M. Brown.[9]

On July 19, 1862, the medical staff had this organization:[10]

Surgeon General,

CHARLES E. JOHNSON.

SURGEONS—Wm. W. Davis, Wm. L. Hilliard, Chas. J. Gee, James B. Hughes, James F. McRee, Joseph F. King, Peter W. Young, Wesley M. Campbell, Henry P. Ritter, Peter E. Hines, James Johnson, David A. Montgomery, John W. Hutchings, James A. Miller, E. Burke Haywood, Columbus Mills, James A. Bizzell, Robert J. Hicks, Pleasant A. Holt, James K. Hall, R. H. Smith, Thos. J. Boykin, Wyatt M. Brown, Robert Gibbon, Peter Custis, Samuel W. Langdon, Warren W. Ward, John Yancey, W. J. Blow, Richard B. Baker, Henry Joyner, Thurmer H. Wingfield, Francis M. Garrett, James R. Ellis, James Hickerson.

ASSISTANT SURGEONS—James M. Hines, Charles J. O'Hagan, Nathaniel M. Scales, Geo. L. Kirby, Kenneth A. Black, John K. Ruffin, Joseph H. Baker, Wm. Little, John H. McAdden, Charles Lesesne, John S. Leach, John E. Douthitt, Walter B. Mott, W. D. Whitted, Jos. W. Caldwell, Benj. A. Cheek, William R. Wilson, R. H. Shields, Robert S. Halsey, Lancaster K. Saunders, Waightstill Collett, W. S. McLean, Joseph J. Baxter, Francis N. Luckley, Wm. A. Holt, Edw. Ransom, George H. Coke, Francis M. Henderson, Harvey Hines, John F. Miller, Washington J. Busbee, Cyrus E. Worrell, John E. Logan, Daniel W. Shaw, Joseph D. Pearsall, Wm. T. Sparrow, J. F. Shoffner, James W. Tracey, John M. Lawing, Wm. L. Love, Charles Gregory, James H. Warne, Benjamin C. Wilkinson, Benjamin W. Brookshire.

DRUG CONDITIONS

At the outbreak of the war the South had practically no manufacturing chemical plants and few manufacturing pharmaceutical houses. Drugs were *contraband of war,* in spite of humanitarian efforts to legalize their importation. That such, all things being considered, was so, is surprising, and certainly made the lot of the Southern soldier and the Federals taken prisoners harder to bear. The action was a revelation of partisan feeling. The attitude of so important a body as the American Medical Association was reflected in the following resolution offered and rejected by this association in the Chicago meeting of 1863.

[9] *State Journal,* May 22, '61.
[10] *Semi-Weekly Standard,* Raleigh, July 19, '62.

Dr. Gardner, of New York, presented the following resolutions, which he hoped would meet with the cordial approval of the association:

Whereas it is the duty and great distinction of Christian nations, and in conformity with the highest instincts of humanity, to assuage the sufferings and mitigate the horrors of war in every possible manner, in which attempt the medical profession has ever been eminently conspicuous; and

Whereas the stringency of our blockade of the Southern coast has, to a great extent, deprived the sick and wounded, the feeble babe, the helpless woman, the aged man, as well as the sufferers by wounds and disease in the ranks of our enemies, of needful appliances to relieve pain and to save life; and

Whereas, from the same cause, thousands and tens of thousands of our own brave sons and brothers, fighting for the holy cause of our glorious Union, and left wounded on the battlefield in the hands of the enemy, have been compelled to have operations performed without the relief and benefit which chloroform would bring, and have lain in suffering unto death in the hospitals of the South from the absolute destitution of the country of many needful medicines and instruments of surgery; and

Whereas these articles are in no respect to be considered as among the "sinews of war," and, as has been seen, are not material to a vigorous prosecution of rebellious warfare; and

Whereas, this Association, numbering among its lawful members the medical men of the entire thirty-four states of the Union, we deem it eminently fitting that we should urge upon the Government and the people of the United States to remember the universal brotherhood of man and the undying attributes of humanity: It is, therefore, unanimously

Resolved, That the Association request the President of the United States to take such action as shall cause all medicines and medical and surgical instruments and appliances to be excluded from the list of articles called "contraband of war," and that such articles in any quantity may be purchased by any person in any state of the Union, and may be conveyed beyond our lines under a flag of truce, after proper inspection, so as to give every necessary comfort to relieve any human suffering, whether of our own soldiers or that of the enemy.

Resolved, That a copy of the above preamble and resolution be sent to the President and heads of departments, and to each and every member of the United States Senate, and attested by the officers of this Association; and that every member be requested to use all the influence in his power in stripping this fratricidal war of some of its unnecessary horrors, and thereby to inaugurate the reëstablishment of more kindly feelings, and to smooth away some of the obstructions to the reconciliation of our misguided brethren.

Resolved, That a committee, representing every State of the Union here present, be appointed to present these resolutions to the President.[11]

Dr. Loomis, of the District of Columbia, moved to lay the whole matter on the table.

Dr. Mayburry, of Pennsylvania, moved to amend the motion to lay upon the table by adding the word "indefinitely," which amendment was accepted by Dr. Loomis, and the motion, as amended, declared carried.

[11]Transactions of the *American Medical Association.*

The supply of medicines was furnished, first, from the limited supply on hand; second, from the purchases smuggled through the Union lines or through the blockade; third, from supplies captured (in several instances in considerable quantities); and fourth, from the native medicinal plants. North Carolina was fortunate in the amounts obtained through its own blockade runner, the *Lord Clyde,* and the other boats in which it had a partial interest; particularly so in the fact that Wilmington held out so long before surrendering. In the wealth of its native plants it probably excels any other state. Surgeon Joseph Jones, of the Medical College of Georgia, in 1861 began investigations of the indigenous medicinal plants of the South.[12] The following table issued for the Confederate Government presents the drugs used. Directions for gathering and drying were distributed. Surgeons J. J. Chisolm and F. A. Porcher of South Carolina were most active in procuring supplies of these native drugs.

[12]Indigenous Remedies of the Southern Confederacy which may be employed in the Treatment of Malarial Fevers, Jos. Jones, M.D., N. C. Med. Jr., Vol. III, p. 641

Standard Supply Table of the Indigenous Remedies for Field Service and Sick in General Hospitals, Confederate States of America.

(From *Confederate States Medical and Surgical Journal.*)[13]

Botanical Names	Common Names	Medical Properties	Dose	Form
Acorus calamus,	Calumus,	Aromatic, stimulant, and stomachic,	10 to 20 grs.	Pulv.
Acorus calamus,	Calamus,	Aromatic, stimulant, and stomachic,	1 fl. drachm,	Fl. ext.
Arum tryphillum,	Wake robin or Indian turnip,	Expectorant; stim. to gland. system, lungs, and skin; in emulsion,	10 grs.	Pulv.
Aristolochia serpentaria,	Virginia snake root,	Stimulant, tonic, and diaphoretic; in infusion.	1 or 2 ozs.	Rad.
Asarum canadense,	Wild ginger,	Aromat., stimulant, tonic, and diaphoretic,	20 to 30 grs.	Rad.
Asarum canadense,	Wild ginger,	Aromat., stimulant, tonic, and diaphoretic,	½ to 1 fl. drachm,	Fl. ext.
Asclepias tuberosa,	Pleurisy root or butterfly weed,	Diaphoretic; in decoction,	1 teacupful,	Rad.
Asclepias tuberosa,	do.	Expectorant,	20 to 60 grs.	Pulv.
Capsicum,	Pepper,	External irritant,		Pod.
Capsicum,	Pepper,	Stim. stomachic; in gargles,	½ to 2 drachms,	Tinct.
Cassia marilandica,	American senna,	Cathartic; in infusion,	1 to 3 ozs.	Fol.
Cassia marilandica,	American senna,	Cathartic; in infusion,	1 to 4 drachms,	Fl. ext.
Chenopodium Anthelminticum,	Wormseed,	Anthelmintic; in emulsion with ol. ricini,		Sem.
Chimafila umbelata,	Pipsisseway,	Diuretic; in decoction,	1 pt. during 24 hours,	
Conium maculatum,	Hemlock,	Narcotic and sedative,	2 to 3 grs.	Solid ext.
Cornus florida,	Dogwood,	Tonic, astringent,	20 to 60 grs.	Pulv.
Cornus florida,	Dogwood,	Tonic, astringent, in decoction,	2 fl. ozs.	Cort.
Cornus florida,	Dogwood,	Tonic, astringent,	10 to 30 grs.	Solid ext.
Cornus florida,	Dogwood,	Tonic, astringent,	1 fl. drachm,	Co. fl. ext.
Cucurbita citrullus,	Watermelon,	Diuretic; in infusion,	Ad libitum,	Sem.
Cucurbita pepo,	Pumpkin,	Anthelmintic; in emulsion,	2 ozs.	Sem.
Cytisus scoparius,	Scotch broom,	Diuretic; in decoction,	½ to 1 pt. during 24 hours.	

[13]The spelling is retained.

STANDARD SUPPLY TABLE OF THE INDIGENOUS REMEDIES FOR FIELD SERVICE AND SICK IN GENERAL HOSPITALS—*Continued.*

BOTANICAL NAMES	COMMON NAMES	MEDICAL PROPERTIES	DOSE	FORM
Datura Stramonium,	Jamestown weed,	Narcotic; anti-spasmodic and anodyne; tict. and infusion as local application.		Fol.
Datura Stramonium,	Jamestown weed,	Internally (local applic. also for ung. stramonium,	¼ to ½ gr.	Solid ext.
Diospyros virginiana,	Persimmon,	Tonic; in comp. infusions, and gargles,		Cort.
Diospyros virginiana,	Persimmon,	Astringent,	½ to 1 drachm,	Tinct.
Diospyros virginiana,	Persimmon,	Astringent,	10 to 30 grs.	Pulv.
Erigeron philadelphicum,	Fleabane,	Diuretic; in infusion,	1 pt. during 24 hrs.	
Erigeron canadense,	Fleabane,	Diuretic and astringent in infusion,	2 to 4 fl. ozs.	Plant,
Erigeron canadense,	Fleabane,	Styptic,		Oil.
Eupatorium perfoliatum,	Boneset,	Tonic, diaphoretic; in infusion,	2 to 4 fl. ozs.	Herb.
Euphorbia ipecacuanha,	Ipecacuanha, spurge,	Emetic,	15 grs.	
Euphorbia corrollata,	Large flowery spurge,	Diaphoretic,	5 grs.	Rad.
Frasera walteri,	American Colombo,	Tonic; in infusion,	1 to 2 fl. ozs.	Rad.
Gaultheria procumbens,	Partridge berry or spicy wintergreen,	Stim. aromatic,		Oil.
Geranium maculatum,	Cranesbill,	Astringent, in decoction,	1 to 2 fl. ozs.	Rad.
Geranium maculatum,	Cranesbill,	Astringent,	10 to 15 grs.	Solid ext.
Gentian catesbei,	American gentian,	Tonic, comp. infusion,	1 to 3 fl. ozs.	Rad.
Gentian catesbei,	American gentian,	Tonic,	10 to 30 grs.	Solid ext.
Gillena trifoliata, or gillena stipulacea,	Indian physic,	Emetic,	20 to 30 grs.	Pulv.
Humulus lupulus,	Hop,	Tonic, hypnotic, in infusion,	2 fl. ozs.	
Humulus lupulus,	Hop,	Tonic, hypnotic, in infusion,	1 to 3 drachms,	Tinct.
Hyosciamus niger,	Henbane,	Anodyne, soporific,	1 to 3 grs.	Solid ext.
Hyosciamus niger,	Henbane,	Anodyne, soporific.	1 fl. drachm,	Tinct.
Juglans cinerea,	Butternut,	Aperient, cathartic,	20 to 30 grs.	Solid ext.
Juniper communis,	Juniper,	Stim. diuretic, in infusion,	1 pt. during 24 hrs.	Berry.
Laurus sassafras,	Sassafras,	Stim. aromatic, adjunct to infusion,		Cort.
Laurus sassafras,	Sassafras,	Demulcent,		Pith.
Laurus sassafras,	Sassafras,	Stim. carminative,	2 to 10 drops,	Oil.

Lavendula,	Lavender,	Stim. aromatic,	30 to 60 drops,	Comp. Spts.
Leontodon taraxacum,	Dandelion,	Alterative,	1 fl. drachm,	Fl. ext.
Liriodendron tulipfera,	Tulip tree,	Stim. tonic diaphoretic,	½ to 2 drachms,	Pulv.
Liriodendron tulipfera,	Tulip tree,	Stim. tonic diaphoretic,	1 to 3 fl. drachms,	Co. fl. ext.
Lobelia inflata,	Lobelia,	Expectorant,	1 to 3 fl. drachms,	Tinct.
Mentha piperita,	Peppermint,	Arom., stim., and antispasmodic,	1 to 3 drops,	Oil.
Mentha viridis,	Mint,	Arom., stim., in infusion,	Ad libitum,	Herb.
Monata punctata,	Horsemint,	Stim., carminative, also adjunct to liniments, internally,	2 to 3 drops,	Oil.
Panax quinquefoliun,	Ginseng,	Demulcent,		Pulv.
Papaver,	Poppy,	Anodyne, local application,		Heads.
Phytolacca decandra,	Poke root,	Alterative, for other uses, see Dispensatory.	1 to 5 grs.	Pulv.
Pincneya pubens,	Georgia bark,	Tonic and antiperiodic in infusion,	2 to 3 fl. ozs.	Cort.
Pincneya pubens,	Georgia bark,	Tonic and antiperiodic in infusion,	1 drachm,	Pulv.
Podophyllum peltatum,	May apple,	Cathartic,	5 to 15 grs.	Solid ext.
Polygala senega,	Senaka snake root,	Stim. and expectorant, in decoction,	2 fl. ozs.	Rad.
Polygala senega,	Senake snake root,	Stim. and expectorant, in decoction,	1 fl. drachm,	Syrup.
Prunus virginiana,	Wild cherry,	Tonic and sedative in infusion,	1 to 3 fl. ozs.	Cort.
Prunus virginiana,	Wild cherry,	Tonic and sedative in infusion,	½ fl. oz.	Syrup.
Quercus alba,	White oak,	Tonic, local application, fomentation, gargle, etc.		
Quercus alba,	White oak,	Astringent in decoction,		Cort.
Quercus alba,	White oak,	Astringent in decoction,	½ to 1 drachm,	Pulv.
Rhus glabra,	Sumach,	Astringent, infusion a cooling refrigerant drink in fevers, for gargles,		Berries.
Rubus villosus, or rubus trivialis,	Blackberry, or dewberry,	Tonic, astringent, in decoction,	½ to 2 fl. ozs.	Rad.
Rubus villosus, or rubus trivialis,	Blackberry, or dewberry,	Tonic, astringent, in decoction,	1 fl. drachm,	Comp. Syr.
Sabbatia angularis,	American centaury,	Tonic, in infusion,	2 fl. ozs.	Herb.
Salix albra,	White willow,	Tonic, astringent, in decoction,	2 fl. ozs.	Cort.
Salvia,	Sage,	Tonic, astringent, for gargles, etc.		Fol.
Sanguinaria canadensis,	Puccoon or blood root,	Stim., expectorant, alterative,	½ fl. drachm,	Tinct.
Sarsaparilla,	Sarsaparilla,	Alterative,	1 fl. drachm,	Fl. ext.
Sesamum indicum,	Bene plant,	Demulcent, in infusion,	Ad libitum,	Fol.
Solanum dulcamara,	Bitter-sweet or woody nightshade,	Narcotic, alterative, in decoction,	2 fl. ozs.	Herb.

STANDARD SUPPLY TABLE OF THE INDIGENOUS REMEDIES FOR FIELD SERVICE AND SICK IN GENERAL HOSPITALS—*Continued.*

BOTANICAL NAMES	COMMON NAMES	MEDICAL PROPERTIES	DOSE	FORM
Solanum dulcamara,	Bitter-sweet or woody nightshade,	Narcotic, alterative, in decoction,	5 to 10 grs.	Solid ext.
Spigelia marilandica,	Pinkroot,	Anthelimintic,	½ fl. oz.	Co. fl. ext.
Spiraoa tomentosa,	Hardhack,	Tonic, astringent,	5 to 15 grs.	Solid ext.
Statice caroliniana,	Marsh rosemary,	Astringent, in cold infusion,		Rad.
Stillingia sylvatica,	Queen's root,	Alterative, in decoction,	½ to 2 fl. ozs.	Rad.
Stillingia sylvatica,	Queen's root,	Alterative,	1 fl. drachm,	Tinct.
Symplocarpus fœtidus,	Skunk cabbage,	Antispasmodic, narcotic, expectorant,	10 to 20 grs.	Pulv.
Triosteum perfoliatum,	Fever root,	Cathartic,	10 to 20 grs.	Solid ext.
Ulmus,	Elm,	Demulcent, in infusion,	Ad libitum,	Cort.
Ulmus,	Elm,	Demulcent, in infusion,	Ad libitum,	Pulv.
Uva ursi,	Bear berry,	Astringent, tonic, with direction to urinary organs,	1 to 2 fl. ozs.	Fol.
Veratrum viride,	American Hellebore,	Sedative, expectorant, to be used with caution,	4 to 8 drops,	N'wood' tinct.

The use of these drugs, none of which were specific remedies, demanded a knowledge of botany for selection, of pharmacy for preparation, and of a physician for use. The number of men possessing this knowledge was limited, this fact adding to the scarcity of the drug supply. Under these conditions, the wonder is that the mortality in Southern hospitals and prisons was as small as it was. The prices of the smuggled drugs became exorbitant as they became more difficult to obtain.

Lincolnton, N. C., was selected as a drug laboratory, drawing on the crude drug supply of the mountains. Surgeon A. S. Piggott was in charge. Wilkesboro, Asheville, and Statesville were collecting points. The medical purveyor stationed at Charlotte seemed to have been discontinued. Other laboratories for the preparation of tinctures and extracts from indigenous drugs were located at Macon, Ga., Augusta, Ga., Columbia, S. C., and Tyler, Texas.

DRESSINGS

Some Southern cotton factories made a fairly good cloth called osnaburg, which was used for bandages. Old sheets, cotton and woolen garments were scraped by the women and used as lint. The gray moss of the eastern coast was used as a surgical packing. Raw cotton carded by hand with cards brought in through the blockade furnished a large supply of dressings. Silk for ligatures and sutures was very scarce, and surgeons had to use horse hair, cotton or flax thread. Toasting or charring was the method of sterilizing. Water dressing for large wounds, used by dripping, of itself, a necessity then, is not unlike the latest method from the present great war with the addition of its weak chlorine antiseptic.

Surgical instruments were very scarce. Among the makers in this State were Julius & Thigpen, Surgical Instrument Makers, Tarboro, N. C.

PRICES OF DRUGS, ETC

A few prices are given here, prior to 1865, when money became so depreciated that practically it was carried in baskets and the articles brought home in the buyer's pockets. These are from original invoices in my possession and are *wholesale prices.*

1862.	Soda	*9 cents per pound*
	Blue mass	$ 8.00 per pound
	Castor oil	15.00 per gallon
	Quinine	16.00 per ounce
	Castile soap	75 cents per pound

1863.	Quinine	30.00 per ounce
	Morphine	30.00 per ounce
	Soap	12 cents per pound
	Chloroform	15.00 per pound
	Alum	2.00 per pound
	Opium, camphor, mustard, soda, benzoic acid, none to be had.	
1864.	Copperas	$ 2.50 per pound
	Blue mass	16.00 per pound
	Rochelle salts	5.00 per pound
	Ex. and Henbane	3.00 per ounce
	Ex. and Gentian	3.00 per ounce
	Lard	7.00 per pound
	Cubebs	20.00 per pound
	Camphor	42.00 per pound
	Soda	*3.25 per pound*
	Combs	75.00 per dozen
	Epsom salts	4.00 per pound
	Blacking	200.00 per gross
	Tanners' oil	2.50 per gallon
	Matches	40.00 per gross
	Sugar	10.00 per pound
1865.	Copperas	4.00 per pound
	Castor oil	100.00 per gallon

The action of the State in an attempt to regulate prices in the State is given for District No. 4. These are prices paid for articles impressed for the use of the Government, for the sixty days following its announcement. The prices so established were exceeded in ordinary trade, just as the Government's coal, corn, and wheat prices are not observed today. The inclusion of only one drug bears witness to the scarcity of the usual drugs. The following list, which may be considered irrelevant, is included as a matter of interest in itself and as a basis of comparison of drugs with other commodities.

OFFICIAL SCHEDULE OF PRICES FOR NORTH CAROLINA.

PRINTED. (No date)

R. V. BLACKSTOCK,
H. K. BURGWYN,
Commissioners of Appraisement for N. C.

From marginal date, October 23, 1863. District No. 4 is selected as an illustration. The prices vary but little in the other districts.

District No. 4 is to consist of all counties west of and including said counties,[14] and in said district the prices shall be as follows:

Corn	$ 17.50 per bbl. of 5 bu. (56 lbs. to bu.)
Meal	3.65 per bu. of 68 lbs.
Bacon	1.00 per lb.
Pork, nett	60.00 per 100 lbs.
Pork, gross	50.00 per 100 lbs.
Lard	1.00 per lb.
Wheat (choice white)	5.50 per bu. of 60 lbs.
Flour (1st qual. superfine)	27.00 per bbl. of 196 lbs.
Wheat bran	.50 per bu. of 17 lbs.
Shorts	.75 per bu. of 22 lbs.
Ship stuff	1.45 per bu. of 37 lbs.
Brown stuff	.95 per bu. of 28 lbs.
Oats, sheaf	2.25 per 100 lbs.
Oats, shelled	1.75 per bu. of 32 lbs.
Rye, clean	3.50 per bu. of 56 lbs.
Peas	3.50 per bu. measured
Beans	3.50 per bu. measured
Potatoes, sweet	4.00 per bu. measured
Potatoes, Irish	2.50 per bu. measured
Dried peaches, peeled	8.50 per bu. of 38 lbs.
Dried peaches, unpeeled	4.50 per bu. of 38 lbs.
Dried apples, peeled	4.00 per bu. of 28 lbs.
Onions	6.00 per bu. measured
Hay, clean Timothy	3.00 per 100 lbs.
Other hay and fodder	2.00 per 100 lbs.
Shucks	1.50 per 100 lbs.
Straw, wheat and rye	1.00 per 100 lbs.
Pasturage 1st quality, near town, per month	7.00 per head month
Pasturage, common, near town, per month	5.00 per head month
Pasturage, 1st qual. in the country, per month	5.00 per head month
Pasturage, common, in the country, per month	3.00 per head month
Horses, extra fine,	
Horses, 1st. qual. artillery	500.00 per head
Horses, 2d qual. artillery	400.00 per head
Horses, 3d qual. artillery	300.00 per head
Mules, extra fine,	
Mules, 1st quality	500.00 per head
Mules, 2d quality	400.00 per head
Wool, fair, washed	4.00 per lb.
Wool, fair, unwashed	3.00 per lb.
Salt, dry and clean	22.00 per bu. of 50 lbs.
Soap, hard and dry	40.00 per 100 lbs.
Candles, tallow	1.00 per lb.
Vinegar, cider	.80 per gal.
Vinegar, manufactured	.40 per gal.
Whiskey and brandy	8.00 per gal.

[14] Alleghany, Watauga, McDowell, and Rutherford.

Sugar, clarified	1.75 per lb.
Sugar, fair, brown	1.25 per lb.
Sugar, coarse, damp brown	.60 per lb.
Molasses	8.50 per gal.
Syrup, from Chinese cane	5.00 per gal.
Rice	.40 per lb.
Coffee	3.50 per lb.
Tea, green	10.00 per lb.
Tea, black	7.00 per lb.
Iron, good old railroad	160.00 per ton
Iron, pig, 1st quality	125.00 per ton
Iron, pig, 2d quality	110.00 per ton
Iron, pig, 3d quality	100.00 per ton
Iron, bloom	180.00 per ton
Iron, Smith's, round, bar, and plate	380.00 per ton
Leather, harness	3.50 per lb.
Leather, sole	3.50 per lb.
Leather, upper	3.50 per lb.
Beef cattle, stall fed	.30 per lb.
Beef cattle, grass fed	.25 per lb.
Sheep, fair	25.00 per head

The following shall be uniform throughout the State:

Army woolen cloth, ¾ yd., 10 oz. to the yard	$ 4.50 per yard
Army woolen cloth, 1½ yd., 20 oz. to the yard	9.00 per yard
Flannel, ¾ yd., 6 oz. to yd	3.00 per yard
Cotton shirting, ¾ yd., 4½ yards to the pound	.50 per yard
Cotton shirting, 7/8 yd., 3¾ yards to the pound	.60 per yard
Cotton sheeting, 4-4 yd., 3 yards to the pound	.70 per yard
Cotton osnaburg, ¾ yd., 6 oz. to the yard	.75 per yard
Cotton osnaburg, 7/8 yd., 8 oz. to the yard	.60 per yard
Cotton drills, 7/8 yd., 3 yds. to the pound	.80 per yard
Cotton shirting, stripes, 3 yards to the pound	.80 per yard
Cotton tent cloths, 10 oz. to the yard	1.00 per yard
Cotton, yarn	1.50 per lb.
Cotton, raw	.50 per lb.
Army shoes	10.00 per pair
Shoe thread	6.00 per lb.
Wool socks	1.00 per pair
Baling long forage	.50 per 100 lbs.
Shelling and bagging corn, sacks furnished by Government	.05 per bushel
Hire of labor, teams, wagons, and drivers:	
Hire of 2 horse teams, wagon and driver, rations by owner	12.00 per day
Hire of 2 horse teams, wagon and driver, rations by Government	6.00 per day
Hire of 4 horse teams, wagon and driver, rations by owner	15.00 per day

Hire of 4 horse teams, wagon and driver, rations by Government	7.50 per day
Hire of 6 horse teams, wagon and driver, rations by owner	18.00 per day
Hire of 6 horse teams, wagon and driver, rations by Government	9.00 per day
Hire of laborer, rations furnished by owner	2.25 per day
Hire of laborer, rations furnished by Government	1.25 per day
Hire of laborer, rations furnished by owner	47.00 per month
Hire of laborer, rations furnished by Government	22.00 per month
Lumber	45.00 per 1,000 feet
Timber	30.00 per 1,000 feet
Wool hats	5.00 each
Quinine	42.00 per oz.

ORGANIZATIONS FOR THE AID OF SOLDIERS AND HOSPITALS

There were two Union civilian agencies that were especially active in the relief of suffering during the war. The larger one was the Sanitary Commission, and the other was the United States Christian Commission. The creation of the Sanitary Commission was due to the efforts of the women "to do their bit." [15] It met with little favor at Washington, faced the indifference of the medical corps, and hostility at the hands of the War Department. By dogged persistence it finally won over the Surgeon-General. It expended $5,000,000 in money and distributed $15,000,000 worth of supplies. The work of this commission was of the greatest value in the first two years of the war, while the inadequate medical department was growing to the degree of efficiency necessary for the army. The Christian Commission originated through the efforts of the Young Men's Christian Association of Philadelphia, through the efforts of Geo. H. Stuart, John Wannamaker, and others.[16] It collected over $5,000,000 for the relief of soldiers.

In the South there were no such organizations for the relief of soldiers. The vast amount of similar work was originated and maintained by the women of the South in volunteer aid societies. Their energy and sacrifice demands that their names be writ large in the history of the Confederacy.

In our State they volunteered early for this work. I present a few records as an exhibit of their efforts:

[15] Meeting of Women held in N. Y., April 25, 1861. The Sanitary Commission. Holland Thompson, Phot. Hist. of the Civil War, Vol. VII, p. 328.
[16] Phot. Hist. Civil War, Vol. VII, p. 17.

GOD BLESS THE LADIES[17]

The following speaks for itself and for the brave, patriotic ladies who have set this bright example:

GREENE COUNTY, NORTH CAROLINA, April 28, 1861.

To His Excellency, JOHN W. ELLIS, *Governor of North Carolina:*

SIR:—We, the undersigned, hereby tender our service to the State as nurses, or in any other capacity in which we can aid our brave volunteers. We are willing and ready to take the field with them and there minister to the wants of the wounded. Hoping that your Excellency will accept our tender, we have the honor to be

Your Excellency's obedient servants,

SARAH CORINNE HUNNICUTT,
ANNIE E. WILLIAMS,
KATE J. RANDOLPH,
EMMA F. WILLIAMS.

THE LADIES OF RALEIGH

The ladies of Raleigh, having formed themselves into a society for the purpose, are busily engaged in contributing by their labor to the defense of the State. During last week they made and turned over to the Adjutant-General, for the use of the troops

1500 mattresses, and 600 towels for the Camp of Instruction,
300 uniform jackets,
200 uniform pantaloons,
400 fatigue shirts,
200 haversacks.

The materials were purchased mainly by contributions amongst themselves.

The basement of the new Baptist Church having been kindly tendered by Rev. Dr. Skinner for the purpose, it is occupied by the cutting and distributing department; whilst the offices of the Governor and Private Secretary in the Capitol, at first, and afterwards the Commons Hall, accommodate the sewing machine department.

In these several rooms can be seen daily the lady whose fingers have not been used to work, and the lady whose fingers yield her daily support, and in the background several free colored women whose services were voluntarily tendered—all laboring earnestly in the patriotic work and contributing to the comfort of their gallant defenders.

WILMINGTON, August 7, 1861.[18]

Editors of the Journal:—In accordance with the notice given in the Journal some days ago, a meeting was held yesterday morning at the City Hall for the purpose of organizing a "Soldiers' Aid Society of the Ladies of Wilmington." The meeting was opened with prayer by Rev. Mr. Guthrie; a constitution was then submitted by Rev. Mr. Drane, and adopted by a unanimous vote. The objects of the Society are thereby declared to be "to give system and increased efficiency to the efforts now being made, or hereafter to be made, to aid our absent volunteers, and to provide, as far as practicable, for the wants of those who may be visited by disease, or wounded in battle."

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[17] *State Journal,* May 8, 1861.
[18] *The State Journal,* Sept. 4, 1861.

The following ladies were then elected officers of the Society:

Mrs. A. J. DeRosset, *President*
Mrs. Dr. Dixon, *Vice-President.*
Mrs. Gaston Meares, *Secretary.*
Mrs. J. H. Russell, *Treasurer.*

Mrs. Lyons,
Mrs. Stevenson,
Mrs. Drane,
Mrs. Thomas,
Mrs. Bowden,
Mrs. Hart,
Mrs. C. H. Robinson,
Mrs. McGuire,
Miss Elby Ellis,
Executive Committee.

Being desirous of affording information to all interested, and also of inviting the coöperation of friends of the cause in remote parts of our own, as well as the adjoining counties, the committee have thought it advisable to request you to give publication to such of the proceedings as seem necessary to secure these objects.

As it is desired to conduct the operations of the Society on a scale in some degree commensurate with its importance subscriptions in money, articles of clothing, worn or half-worn, bedding and blankets, nourishment and delicacies for the sick, etc., etc., are solicited from all sources and in quantities, however small. They may be sent to the ladies at the City Hall, or to any member of the Executive Committee, and all such subscribers' names shall, by the Constitution, be enrolled as members of the Society.

It has been suggested that all those ladies who have received donations, or collected funds for the benefit of the soldiers, might find their object promoted by merging their cause, as well as their purse, into that of the Society. The committee also requests the captains of the various companies in our immediate vicinity to make known to them the wants of the men under their command, and so far as practicable they shall be promptly and efficiently cared for.

Any information that may be desired by friends in the country will be cheerfully given by corresponding with the Secretary.

FOR THE SOLDIERS

Sheriff High acknowledges the following contributions:

Mrs. Kenneth Raynor, four blankets; Mrs. Jno. H. Bryan, Raleigh, six blankets; Mrs. W. J. Brown, Wake, a pair of blankets and two pair of cotton socks; Mrs. Mary Shepard, Raleigh, one pair of blankets, four pair of yarn socks, one flannel shirt and a pair of drawers; Miss Emma Hunter, three blankets and three pair of socks.

PUBLIC MEETING IN RANDOLPH[19]

A number of the citizens of Randolph County, N. C., feeling it their duty to contribute clothing for the comfort of our gallant volunteers, assembled at Fox's Store, Sandy Creek, in said county, on the 5th of September, 1861, for the purpose of devising some expedient way for making a contribution of clothing and delivering said clothing to our volunteers.

[19]The *North Carolina Standard*, September 18, 1861.

On motion of John Fruit, Esq., Dr. M. L. Fox was called to the chair, and S. C. Fox, Esq., was appointed Secretary.

The Chairman explained the object of the meeting, after which Rev. T. Crouse, John Fruit, Esq., and Wm. R. McMasters, Esq., were appointed a committee to report resolutions expressive of the feeling of this meeting, and the manner in which contributions are to be made by us to our volunteers.

After a short retirement of the committee they reported the following resolutions:

Resolved, That we heartily sympathize with our brave volunteers, who have forsaken their homes and all dear to them, to fight not only for their rights, but also for ours; and that we feel it our sacred duty to contribute freely for their comfort during their service in the defense of our common country.

Resolved, That we will liberally contribute woolen blankets, woolen shirts, woolen drawers, woolen socks, and woolen gloves for Captain Odell's, Captain Gray's, and Captain Worth's companies—volunteers from Randolph County, in the 12th Regiment N. C. Volunteers.

Resolved, That S. C. Fox be appointed to receive the clothing furnished, and that he keep a list of the names of those who furnish articles of clothing; also who it is for.

Resolved, That all donors having a preference, mark the names on the articles of clothing furnished, and that all articles without a preference be given to those most needy in said companies.

Resolved, That we will, whenever we are informed that it is necessary, do a liberal part toward furnishing our volunteers with clothing.

Resolved, That a suitable person be appointed as agent to deliver articles of clothing to our volunteers.

Resolved, That a copy of the proceedings of this meeting with the request to publish them, be sent to the editors of the North Carolina *Standard* and Greensboro *Patriot*.

The above resolutions were received and adopted.

John Fruit, Esq., was appointed agent to deliver the clothing to the volunteers, after which the meeting adjourned.

S. C. Fox, *Secretary*. M. L. Fox, *Chairman*.

ANOTHER LOT FOR THE SOLDIERS[20]

Sheriff High has received the following:

Mrs. O. D. Lipscomb, of Raleigh, four pair of drawers, four pair of socks and four blankets; Mrs. H. L. Evans, two blankets and two pair of socks; Mrs. L. Marling, one flannel shirt, six pair of socks and soap; Mrs. E. Marks, Upchurch, four pair of socks; Mrs. Sarah L. Hogg, two dozen pair socks and two blankets; Dr. T. Hogg's children, fourteen pair socks and two blankets; Miss Maria T. Haywood, two blankets; Mrs. A. M. Gorman, two blankets and three pair of socks; W. H. High, Jr., two blankets; Mrs. H. A. Depkin, nine pair socks; Mrs. John O'Rorke, one blanket, two pair socks and soap; Mrs. Sallie Miller, one blanket, a pair of socks and four cotton protectors for the lungs; Miss Jane Ruth, a blanket, a pair of socks and four protectors; Mrs. Elizabeth H. Poole, one blanket, two pair socks and four protectors; Mrs.

[20]*The State Journal*, September 25, 1861.

A. J. Foster, Wakefield, two blankets and twenty-nine pounds of soap, twenty years old; Mrs. Fenton Foster, one pair of socks and fourteen pounds of soap; Mrs. G. H. Wilder, of Wake, four blankets; Mrs. Gilly Jeffries, four pair of socks; Miss Pauline Jeffries, two pair of socks; Mrs. J. Robert Jeffries, three blankets and two pair of socks; Mrs. Jackson Hopkins, one pair socks; Mrs. Benjamin Marriott, two blankets, seven pair socks, two flannel shirts, and two pair flannel drawers; Mrs. Isaac Proctor, Wake, two blankets, three pair socks, two pair flannel drawers, and sixteen cotton protectors for the lungs.

BLANKETS AND SOCKS FOR THE SOLDIERS[21]

Mrs. Haywood Griffice, three pair socks; Mrs. Wm. R. Cox, eighteen blankets, thirty pair socks, and soap; Miss Eliza Jones, two pair socks; Miss Jinne S. Dunn, three blankets, six towels, and five pair of socks; Miss Jinnie C. Royster, three pair socks; Miss Emily Newlin, one pair socks; Mrs. A. T. Mial, twenty-five pair socks and four blankets; Master Ivan Marriott Proctor, three pair socks; Mrs. David Gill, twelve pair socks; Miss Mary E. Hicks, two pair socks; Mrs. Margaret A. McPheeters, one blanket and seven pair socks; Mrs. Rufus H. Jones, thirty pair of drawers of home-made flannel; Miss Maggie Moore, eight pair socks; Mrs. Needham Price, fifty pair socks; Mrs. M. A. Prendergast, 8 pair socks; Miss Helen Litchford, 5 pair socks; Mrs. Mollie Spellman, 6 pair socks and six shirts; Mrs. W. T. Bain, two blankets; two pair socks and two neck comforts; Master Eddie Cantwell, one blanket; Frederick Cantwell, one blanket; Mrs. E. M. Little, two blankets and four pair socks; Mrs. Wilbert C. Page, three pairs of socks and soap; Mrs. Fannie A. Page, three pair socks; Mrs. Jordan Womble, six pair socks. For Captain Grissom's Company—Ten pair of socks from John J. Holloway; David Beek, five pair; Phinneas Glenn, five pair; John W. Keith, five pair; John Colclough, five pair; William R. Tate, two blankets and two pair socks; B. J. Rogers, four pair socks; Major Sharron, one pair socks; Chesley Jones, one blanket and one pair socks; Miss Carolina O. Rogers, two pair socks; Miss Nancy M. Jones, one pair socks; Mrs. Pelig Rogers, two blankets and five pair socks; Mrs. Mary E. Piper, three pair socks; Miss Lucy Piper, two pair socks; Miss Agnes Hutcherson, four pair socks; Miss Sallie Yerby, one pair socks; Mrs. Eliza H. Jones, three pair socks; Miss Lucy A. Nipper, one pair socks; Mrs. Mary L. Bledsoe, four pair socks; Miss Lucy N. Bledsoe, two pair socks; Miss Caroline O. Pope, one pair socks; Miss Delila Nipper, six pair socks; Mrs. Rachael M. Spain, three pair socks; Mary J. H. Pope, one pair socks; Martha H. Pope, one pair socks; Mrs. Henry E. Holloway, three pair socks; Misses Caroline H. and Maria J. Ross, seven pair socks; Miss Lucy Ann Cawthon, two pair socks; Mrs. John J. Lee, three pair; Mrs. Dr. B. T. Graham, one pair; Mrs. R. A. Thompson, one pair; Maggie H. Lynn, two pair socks; Mrs. W. B. May, one pair socks; Mrs. J. T. Hunter, two pair socks.

Knowing the ladies are anxious to furnish our Wake soldiers two pair of socks apiece, I will state for their benefit what I have received in contributions, also the number of men under arms: 1,400 soldiers in service; pairs of socks received, 865; blankets, 226; shirts, 70; drawers, 80; 1 coat, 1 pair pants, 20 towels. Sheriff High.

[21]The *North Carolina Standard*, November 6, 1861.

CONTRIBUTIONS FOR THE SOLDIERS[22]

The following contributions for our North Carolina troops have been registered at Richmond from this State since our last notice:

Sergt. H. P. Allen, for North Carolina contributors, $1,800 worth of clothing; A. H. Staten and Mr. Bennett, $600 worth of clothing to 1st N. C. State Troops; Messrs. Brown, Adams, and Haigler, $2,000 to 1st N. C. Cavalry and 1st State Troops; Messrs. Lane, Welch, Keener, Moody, Painter & McMinn, $10,000 worth of clothing to 6th N. C. State Troops; Mr. Michael, $750 worth of clothing to 11th N. C. Regiment; H. Sawyer, $600 to 2d N. C. State Troops; George and John Sawyer, $200 to 5th Regiment, N. C.; G. W. Blackman; $3,830 to the 13th N. C. Troops; J. W. Evans, $200 to 6th N. C. Troops; L. W. Gilbert, $770 to 12th Regiment; J. D. Lanier and N. Douglas, $2,000 to 5th State Troops; Mr. McClenahan, $250 to 5th State Troops; S. W. Nailor, Samuel Rose, J. S. Smith, and John Quittlebaum, $8,800 to 4th State Troops; R. N. A. Palmer, $1,500 to 12th Regiment; A. J. Rigsby, $300 to 5th State Troops; S. R. Street, $1,500 to 2d State Troops; R. B. Wyatt, $175 to 2d State Troops; John Fleming, $1,700 to 13th N. C. Troops; J. H. Lindsy, $1,327 to 12th Regiment; Dr. McDaniel, $2,500 to the 4th and 11th Regiments; R. B. Paschal and W. D. Tyson, $5,000 to 5th and 26th Regiments; William Peele and others, $400 to the 2d Regiment; M. D. Smith, $1,100 to the 11th Regiment; May Warren, $600 to 4th Regiment; S. H. Hand, $1,300 to 11th N. C. Troops; Samuel P. Hill, $500 in money to the 6th; M. C. Winston, $200 to 5th State Troops; T. Jeff Utley, *$20,000 to Colonels Tew's, Meares', and Stokes' regiments.*

MORE AID FOR THE SOLDIERS.—TABLEAUX.—We are requested to state that a series of Tableaux are in rehearsal by the ladies of Raleigh, and will be exhibited on Friday evening next, the proceeds of the exhibition to be devoted to the comfort of our troops. The place of exhibition will be duly announced.[23]

In conclusion, I briefly state the aid given the medical corps by Mr. R. B. Saunders, a druggist of Chapel Hill. Mr. Saunders enlisted in his home company, the Orange Light Infantry, and was appointed to go to Raleigh to plead for guns necessary for its equipment. When the company had served its time of enlistment, he was arranging to reënlist when persuaded by Governor Ellis to open a laboratory for the manufacture of medicines. This was located on the main street of Chapel Hill just opposite the entrance to the campus. The chief article manufactured was blue mass. A trough with a ball drawn around by a horse was used in grinding the ingredients. Honey was procured from the farmers; rose leaves gathered by the ladies of Chapel Hill. The mercury was bought by him at auction in Wilmington and Charleston, whither he went on notice that consignments had come in through the blockade. He put the blue mass up in jars made from clay in Chatham County, and

[22] *North Carolina Standard*, November 6, 1861.
[23] *The State Journal*, December 4, 1861.

also in hog bladders. Among other preparations he also made a tonic called American Bitters, and a lime sulphur lotion. The extent of his manufacturing can be seen from letters quoting blue mass in lots of 500 to 1,000 pounds. The last letter of his that I have, written to Williams & Haywood, of Raleigh, will bring back many memories of those in the wake of Wheeler's Cavalry. It says: "I have only 58 lbs. of blue mass on hand. I don't know when I can make any more. The Government has taken the horse with which I worked my machinery."

The Raising, Organization, and Equipment of North Carolina Troops During the Civil War

BY WALTER CLARK,
CHIEF JUSTICE OF NORTH CAROLINA SUPREME COURT.

When Sir Walter Scott issued the first of his novels in 1805 it dealt with the war of 1745, the last attempt of the Stuarts to regain the throne, and he entitled it "Waverley, or 'Tis 60 Years Since." It is almost sixty years since our great struggle began in 1861, and it would be far easier for a great writer like Scott to clothe the palpable and familiar with the glamor of romance than it is to present to this generation an accurate, lifelike picture of the supreme effort of North Carolina in 1861-5.

As compared with the great world struggle now in progress the War of 1861-5 seems small, but up to that time it was the greatest which the world had known. It lasted for four years, and the Federals first and last put into line 2,850,000 soldiers. On the Southern side there were between six hundred and eight hundred thousand. The exact number cannot be settled, for our records have been largely lost. It is safe to say that no war was ever entered into with greater unpreparedness on both sides. When the South went in she had no government but had to form one. It had not a soldier but had to call out an army, clothe, arm, and discipline it. It had no treasury and not a dollar to put in it. It was without factories to make munitions or arms and without adequate facilities to clothe or feed the troops, for we had relied for years upon the North for manufactured articles and upon the Northwest for meat and corn and flour.

The North had as a nucleus a small army and a navy, an organized government and a treasury. But the state of unpreparedness on both sides was beyond description. After the first battle of Mannassas the Confederate Government notified the Governor of this State that there was not enough powder in the Confederacy for another day's battle. This may be one of the reasons why the Confederates did not pursue their advantage by capturing Washington. So little aware was the North of the magnitude of the struggle that many of their regiments then, and even later, were "100 days men," enlisted for that period, with the impression that the Rebellion could be put down in that time, and by undrilled men. In North Carolina the first regiment we sent out, the "Bethel Regiment," of glorious memory, commanded by Col. (later Lieut. General) D. H. Hill, was enlisted for six months, and the rest of

our regiments for twelve months, except the ten State regiments which, with a foresight not shown probably by any other Southern State, were enlisted for "three years, or the war." These regiments were officered by appointment of the Governor, while the others, which were volunteer regiments, elected their own officers.

The condition of things in the spring of 1861 would be hard to describe. Though South Carolina seceded on 20 December, and other Southern States followed in January and February, and the new hostile government inaugurated its president at Montgomery, 22 February, 1861, General Lee accepted promotion from the Federal Government in the latter part of March, and did not resign till after Virginia seceded on 23 April. In the meantime hostilities had been begun by the attack on Fort Sumter on 12 April, and prior to that time the *Star of the West* had been fired on in an attempt to enter Charleston harbor. Indeed there were officers afterwards prominent in the Confederate Army who did not leave the United States service till May. General Martin, afterwards so conspicuous in organizing men and material for North Carolina, did not resign from the United States Army till our Ordinance of Secession was enacted, 20 May. And on his way home from his distant post in Kansas he met on the train his old army friend, U. S. Grant, and traveled amicably with him through Illinois and Indiana to Cincinnati, Ohio.

The utter inability of the people of both sections to understand the magnitude and duration of the struggle before them, added to the utter lack of preparedness on both sides, is shown by a common saying by speakers on both sides in raising volunteers, that they would "contract to wipe up all the blood that would be spilled with a silk pocket handkerchief." This was true of the Confederate Government, which persistently refused, in the summer of 1861, to negotiate a loan of six hundred millions of dollars which was tendered by capitalists in Europe, and President Davis gave positive instructions that in no event should more than $15,000,000 be accepted. If the loan had been taken, of the magnitude offered, the Confederacy would early have been supplied with ammunition, arms, provisions, and a navy, and the blockade later, to which we owed our defeat, would have been impossible. It is quite clear that it was the failure of the Confederate officials to take this step of preparedness, even at that late date, which rendered vain the valor of our troops and the genius of our generals. Indeed, aside from the preparedness which we could even then have made, the European governments would have intervened, if necessary, to have preserved the investment of their capitalists in the $600,000,000 loan which would have been taken if secured on cotton.

There can hardly be an incident in history of equal want of preparedness except in our War of 1812, when a force of 4,000 British soldiers, returning from the West Indies, landed at Point Lookout at the mouth of the Potomac, 2,500 of whom defeated the American Volunteers at Bladenboro, when President Madison (a signer of the Declaration of Independence) and the Secretary of War, Monroe (a soldier of the Revolution), were present. It is said that 250 men of the British army composed the force that captured Washington, burned the Capitol and the White House and destroyed public property, and that our Capital City was held that night by one single British soldier as a sentry on Capitol Hill.

In North Carolina, though we did not secede till 20 May, the Legislature which met 1 May provided for the raising of ten regiments "for three years, or the war," for the raising of volunteers and organization for the coming struggle. In a short time General Martin was made Adjutant General, Major John Devereux, Quartermaster, and Major Thomas D. Hogg, Commissary. At once steps were taken to procure supplies. Horses for the cavalry and transport service were brought from Kentucky, which was then still neutral ground, and were hurried in droves through the mountains. Saddles and harness material were secured by special agents in New Orleans and rushed to Raleigh by rail. Powder works and arsenals for the manufacture and remodeling of arms were created. Thirty-seven thousand muskets were taken possession of by the State in the capture of the arsenal at Fayetteville. These were mostly flint and steel, and skilled workmen were secured to turn them into percussion weapons, but even then so scarce was the supply of guns that we manufactured a large number of pikes, which were wooden poles shod at one end with iron (samples of which can be seen in your Historical Museum), and with these some organizations were equipped while others were entirely unarmed. Indeed, it was not until after several victories that, by the capture of arms and munitions, especially by the careful gathering up of the arms thrown away by the Northern troops in flight, we were able adequately to equip our soldiers. In fact, it was not until after the "Seven Days Battles Around Richmond," in June and July, 1862, that, by means of the large captures of guns and cannon, the South was at all able to adequately equip its soldiers. During the entire war a large part of our equipment of arms and munitions consisted of those taken from the enemy.

In May, 1861, the State established camps of instruction at various points, and skilled armorers were gradually educated, by the aid of the few we had, to make sabres, bayonets, and swords. For a long while percussion caps were made by a private firm (Kuester) in Raleigh.

Shoes and clothing factories were located at several points in the State. Quartermaster, commissary, and ordnance stores were collected, and cannon were provided for the artillery largely by melting down the church bells, which source of supply was supplemented from time to time by captures from the enemy.

The energy and ability shown by North Carolina in these preparations were very remarkable, and showed the innate ability of our population.

The most remarkable instance in this line was the purchase by the State in 1862 of the *Ad-Vance* and three other vessels and the sending by this State of Mr. John White of Warrenton and Col. Duncan K. McRae to sell cotton and purchase supplies for our soldiers. No other State did this, nor did the Confederate Government. It is doubtful whether the State could either have clothed or fed its people but for this enterprise. The list of importations is a curious one and reflects the needs of the State. From the records now being compiled by Dr. D. H. Hill we find that ordnance stores to the amount of $488,000 and cotton cards to the value of $594,000 was brought into Wilmington. It was through these cotton and wool cards that the women of the State were able to clothe their families during the last two years of the war. Even the tacks with which these cards were fastened to the wooden handles had to be imported with them. Among the importations were cloth for uniforms, overcoats, jackets, trousers, caps, shoes, boots, sacks, angora skirts, oil cloth, oil, tape, thread, buttons, paper, calf skins, leather, medicines, dyes, belting, cobbler's awls, needles, bleaching powders, buckles, scythe blades, iron, copper, wire, nails, and many other articles.

Most of the imported cloth was manufactured into uniforms for the men or sold to the officers. This work was done in a most systematic manner. The manufacturing establishment at Raleigh was presided over by Capt. J. W. Garrett, and afterwards by Major W. W. Pierce and Major H. A. Dowd. It was in the Quartermaster's Department, of which Major John Devereux had general supervision. The clothing was cut by expert tailors and then given out to women to be made into garments. Some of the material was shipped to various towns in the State and made up by clubs of women and shipped back. Blockade running was not only an absolute necessity to the State but was a success financially, for on 9 March, 1865, near the end of the war, the business showed a profit of $1,325,000. This was largely made of course by the difference between the price paid by the State for cotton and the value of the articles brought back by the steamers on their return voyages to the State. The steamers ran the blockade from Wilmington nearly due south to Nassau, in the Bahamas, to which point the supplies were brought without risk from England and stored.

Not only were the North Carolina troops supplied with uniforms but a very large part of the cloth and the uniforms were sold to the Confederate Government. When Longstreet's corps were sent to the west, where it enabled the army to win the victory at Chicamauga, it was furnished with new clothing almost entirely from North Carolina, both for the men and officers.

The greater portion of the medical supplies for the Southern army was thus brought in by the North Carolina blockading steamers, and was unobtainable otherwise.

Major T. D. Hogg, who was head of the Ordnance Department and later of the Commissary Department of the State, kept on hand, as he said, "Everything from frying pans to cannon," and the department supplied every conceivable article to the army. In the Ordnance Department the State was constantly manufacturing or remodeling arms and repairing and putting into condition those captured from time to time from the enemy or picked up on the battle-field. Nitre for gunpowder was obtained mostly by digging up the ground in the smokehouses throughout the State and leaching out the nitre.

The State contracted with the Confederate Government to make all the clothing for the North Carolina troops after they were turned over to the Confederacy. During the first winter of 1861-1862 there was so large a rush of men to arms that the soldiers suffered considerably from cold. So great was the destitution that the women of the State, as patriotic then as now, took up the carpets from their floors, cut them up and lined them with coarse cloth and sent them on to the troops to use as blankets. Agents were sent as far South as New Orleans, and these also scoured the State, to buy blankets and warm clothes for the North Carolina troops.

Not only did the State make clothing but it went into the manufacture of arms, and at the Fayetteville arsenal thousands of good rifles were made. Later, rifle factories were established as private enterprises at Jamestown, Greensboro, and other points, and a firm in Wilmington made sabres and bayonets. A boring machine was devised by which smooth-bore muskets were turned into rifles, and thousands of antiquated muskets were changed from flint and steel to percussion locks.

The State also arranged with manufacturers at many points in this State to go into the manufacture of shoes. To some of these the State furnished the hides, and in many cases the State bought green hides and had them tanned on shares. Agents were sent into all the western counties to buy hides, leather, and wool. These were collected and hauled to the manufacturers, to a very large amount in wagons, or accumulated in warehouses, for it must be remembered at that time we had not more than a third of our present railroad mileage.

To keep on hand a large supply of cotton goods, the State agreed to take the total output of many of the cotton mills and pay them 75 per cent profit. The lack of clothing among the people at home became so severe that certain days were set apart on which the output of the mills might be sold, and on those days large numbers of women came from all quarters to buy the cotton yarns or cloth. In some cases they walked even ten or twelve miles and carried their yarn and cloth home on their backs, and sometimes in carts or wagons.

Time fails me to go into all the various enterprises which the State inaugurated to support its armies in the field. Details are largely given by Major A. Gordon and Major W. A. Graham of the Adjutant General's Department in the First Volume of the "N. C. Regimental Histories." A committee was appointed in 1867 to ascertain the amount expended by this State in aid of the war, composed of J. C. Harper, R. H. Battle, and H. W. Husted, whose report shows that the State expended for military purposes alone, to carry on the war (leaving out the last three months, for which the records were lost), more than $37,000,000. While part of this was in Confederate currency it is fair to estimate that full $20,000,000 was furnished by this State for that purpose. This was exclusive of the amounts which were spent by the several counties for the relief of the widows, wives, and children of the soldiers and to relieve distress among the old and infirm. The State established salt works on the coast and also took part in the manufacture of salt at Saltville, in Southwest Virginia. By this means it kept the State, and especially the country districts, supplied with that indispensable article.

In addition to these expenditures the State used a large sum in the blockade business. In that business the State imported $5,947,000 of goods, in addition to the cost of the steamer *Ad. Vance* and our three other vessels, the *Don,* the *Hansa,* and the *Annie.*

These various enterprises were largely suggested by and due to the energy of Gen. James G. Martin, who had seen service in the Quartermaster's Department of the United States Army, but he was most ably seconded by Major John Devereux, Major T. D. Hogg, and the other officials under him. Governor Vance, being the Governor of the State at that time, assumed the responsibility for the *Ad. Vance* and the entire system by which the State imported these necessary articles, and he did so against the advice of eminent counsel who assured him that such action would make him liable for impeachment. He reaped his reward in the approval of the soldiery, whom he kept warm and supplied with clothing, food, and other necessaries, and in the remembrance of the people at home whom he supplied with salt and other necessary articles, and he won the lasting gratitude of the women to whom he furnished the cotton

cards which enabled them to clothe themselves and children, and this made him after the war invincible in the hearts of the people of North Carolina.

The "blockade-running" enterprise of this State was not adopted by any other Southern State nor, strange to say, by the Confederate Government, to whom the State turned over a large part of the supplies it received by these methods. When the war ended North Carolina still had on hand here and in London many thousand bales of cotton which it had bought for this trade and the largest supply of English cloth for soldiers and officers, which were stored at Greensboro. The enterprise was successful till September, 1864, when the Confederate Government, having taken for a cruiser the supply of anthracite coal brought from England which the *Ad. Vance** had stored up in Wilmington for her own use, she was forced to use the bituminous and inferior coal from Chatham County, and the black trail of smoke that she made and a lowered speed caused her capture.

As to provisions, so large a part of Virginia was occupied by the enemy and the other Southern States being less fitted for raising corn and farther from Lee's army, more than half of the supplies of that army came from North Carolina. Major Hogg, the Commissary of this State, said that in the spring of 1865 North Carolina was feeding more than half of Lee's army.

It is to be remembered that the taxes of the Confederacy were largely levied in kind by the tithing bureau which received from each farm one-tenth of all the meat, corn, and other provisions raised which were put into the tithing warehouses and thence transported to the army from time to time as needed. There were tithing agents in each neighborhood who saw to it that the farmer turned over to the Government one-tenth of his produce, and over him was a tithing agent in each county. In a time of depreciated currency, and of an imperative demand for provisions by the army, no better system probably could have been devised.

The Confederate conscript law was adopted early in 1862 by which all men between 18 and 35 were taken for the army, with certain exemptions, on account of disability and public service. The age later was changed from 18 to 45. In the spring of 1864 the necessity of filling the ranks was such that boys from 17 to 18 were conscripted and formed into regiments and battalions of Junior Reserves, and those from 45 to 50 were likewise formed into Senior Reserves.

Nor should mention be omitted of the large supplies which were sent by the women of the State from their scanty stores to their relatives in

*NOTE.—This name was a pun. The vessel was primarily named Ad-Vance, i. e., "to-Vance," and the "Advance" or *first*—never A. D. Vance.

the army. During the last three months of 1864, as Pollard's History states, $325,000 worth of supplies passed through the office in Richmond sent by the women of this State direct to our soldiers in our time of greatest destitution, in addition to what the State Government was officially sending to the troops.

Throughout the war it was noted, without contradiction, that the best supplied, best clothed and equipped soldiers of the whole army were from North Carolina.

I cannot undertake in the brief space of this article to narrate what would require a volume, in order to set out adequately the support which North Carolina furnished to the Confederacy. It must be recalled that while now the State has 2,500,000 people, by the census of 1860 she had only 992,622, of whom full one-third were negroes. These latter did their share in faithfully furnishing provisions raised on the farms for the support of the soldiers and of the people at home. To their credit there was not a single attempt, recorded in the four years, of insurrection or lawlessness. Out of the 700,000 white population the State sent 125,000 splendid soldiers to the front besides the Home Guards, who preserved order, guarded bridges, and at times strengthened our lines in North Carolina. Many thousand negroes were also drafted from time to time to build breastworks and forts.

The proportion of soldiers furnished by this State to the Confederate cause was nearly one in every five of the total white population. This is a larger ratio than is now being furnished by Germany in her strenuous efforts, though that country is largely aided by the enforced work of prisoners and of the population drafted from Belgium and other occupied territory, contrary to all the rules of civilized warfare and the express stipulations of the Hague treaties.

It is safe to say that of the armies of the thirteen Confederate States, more than one-sixth were soldiers from this State. This State also furnished fully one-fifth of the provisions and other supplies for the Confederate armies.

Unlike Germany, with its thirty years preparations for war, North Carolina went into the war totally unprepared. But she grappled the task which came to her, and no state on either side, and probably no state in history, furnished from its population a larger proportion of soldiers, nor from its material resources a larger support, to the cause in which it embarked than this Commonwealth. If the cause finally failed, no blame can be laid upon a state which went into that war reluctantly but which, when it once entered, stinted neither in men, in courage, or in supplies in its ardent support to the side which its people had espoused.

The Work of the North Carolina Historical Commission During the Past Year

BY R. D. W. CONNOR, *Secretary*

The North Carolina Historical Commission is a child of the State Literary and Historical Association. It occurs to me, therefore, that the members of this Association would be particularly interested in the work of the Historical Commission.

Some time ago announcement was made that a distinguished North Carolina historian, who has recently given to the State an excellent history of North Carolina from the period of settlement to the conclusion of the Revolution, was about ready to publish his second volume covering the history of the State since 1783. At the time I ventured to express the hope that the announcement was premature. My reason for this hope is that no man can write the history of North Carolina from 1783 to date, except in a very superficial way, without spending many months at work among the collections of the North Carolina Historical Commission. It is as impossible to write our history since 1783 without extensive use of these collections as it is to write the history of the State before that period without the Colonial Records. Illustrative of this point is the fact that another North Carolinian, whose field of work is confined to the four years of Civil War, 1861-1865, has already spent about eighteen months among our collections covering those four years only, and has not yet exhausted his material.

I shall not have time today to describe at any length the extensive collection of unpublished historical material in possession of the Historical Commission, as this brief report is supposed to be confined to the work of the Historical Commission during the past year. A brief introductory statement is all that can be made at this time. Fuller statements can be found in the six biennial reports of the Historical Commission with which all persons interested in North Carolina history ought to be familiar.

The collections of the Historical Commission contain an immense mass of official documents absolutely essential to any one who wants to write a history of North Carolina. They embrace the Letter-books of the Governors of North Carolina, beginning with Governor Richard Caswell in 1777; the Executive Papers, containing the original letters written to the governors, proclamations, reports, petitions, etc., 1750-1876; Legislative Papers, beginning in 1733, containing original messages, bills, petitions, reports, etc., journals of the Governor's Council, 1712-1775, and

of the Council of State, 1777-1888, together with many Council Papers; a large collection of wills, inventories, deeds, etc.; numerous local and county records; a mass of military papers of the Revolution, Indian Wars, War of 1812, Mexican War, and an extensive collection of Civil War material. Besides these there are numerous collections of miscellaneous material.

In the Hall of History is to be found one of the best historical museums in the United States. It illustrates the social, economic, political, industrial, and military history of the State in every period of its history.

Our collections of the private papers of public men—one of the very best kinds of historical material—is very extensive. They embrace papers of Zebulon B. Vance, David L. Swain, Nathaniel Macon, William A. Graham, Samuel Johnston, James Iredell, John H. Bryan, Bryan Grimes, Calvin H. Wiley, David S. Reid, Cornelia P. Spencer, William R. Davie, Archibald D. Murphey, Charles, Ebenezer, and J. Johnston Pettigrew, W. L. Saunders, W. W. Holden, John Steele, William Duffy, W. H. S. Burgwyn, Jonathan Worth, William Gaston, Willie P. Mangum, Thomas Ruffin, and numerous smaller collections. When the history of North Carolina since the Revolution comes to be written these papers will be found absolutely indispensable.

Much more might be said of the value of our general collections, but time forbids.

As to the work of the Historical Commission during the past year, you must of course bear in mind that the greater part of such work does not admit of being expressed in terms of a report. Correspondence, investigations, advice to persons, especially high school and college students, preparing historical essays, copying manuscripts for publication, arranging, classifying and filing papers, preparing manuscripts for mounting and binding, indexing, and numerous other similar activities cannot figure much in a formal report, although they consume most of the time of the staff of the Historical Commission. During the past year we have arranged and filed in systematic order thousands of executive and legislative papers; copied for the printer the extensive collections of Ruffin, Mangum, and Shotwell papers; reinforced, repaired and mounted 5,000 manuscripts; and indexed several of our collections.

To our collections we added the following:

1. Polk Papers, embracing family letters of the James K. Polk family. Presented by Hon. Tasker Polk, of Warrenton.

2. Shaw Papers—an interesting, miscellaneous collection of manuscripts relating chiefly to the Highland Scotch settlers in North Carolina. Presented by Hon. Henry E. Shaw, of Kinston.

3. David S. Reid Papers—private correspondence about public matters of Governor Reid. Presented by Miss Henrietta Reid, of Reidsville.

4. Bolles Letter-Books, containing 642 letters, notes, etc., of Charles P. Bolles, U. S. Coast Survey, relating to the coast survey, 1846-1855. Presented by Mrs. Charles P. Bolles of Wilmington.

5. Henderson Letter-Book.—Letter book of Thomas Henderson, editor of the Raleigh *Star*, 1810-11. Presented by Hon. Walter Clark, of Raleigh.

6. Devereux Letter-Book.—Letters of Thomas P. Devereux, written while serving in the Confederate Army, 1863-65. Loaned by Mrs. John W. Hinsdale, of Raleigh.

7. Miscellaneous Manuscripts.—Six hundred and ninety-seven pieces, embracing letters of thirteen governors of North Carolina; also letters of John Sevier, Hugh Williamson, Nathaniel Macon, George E. Badger, R. F. Hoke, W. H. C. Whiting, Braxton Bragg, Jefferson Davis, and Robert E. Lee.

The following county records were received:

1. Edgecombe.—Four volumes of Inventories from 1735 to 1794; two volumes of court records, 1784-1824; marriage bonds, 1761-1799.
2. Halifax.—List of tax-payers, 1784-1829; three volumes of court records, 1783-1824; marriage bonds, 1813-1867.
3. Guilford.—Marriage bonds.
4. Wilkes.—Marriage bonds.
5. Rowan.—Marriage bonds.

The following collections have been mounted and permanently bound:

1. Clark Plantation Book, 1821-61.
2. Nathaniel Macon Papers, 1804-37.
3. W. H. S. Burgwyn Papers, 2 vols., 1861-1912.
4. Pollock Letter-Book, 1708-1761.
5. D. S. Reid Papers, 2 vols., second series, 1850-1880.

We secured 35 volumes of bound newspapers.

The following volumes of copies of North Carolina items from South Carolina colonial newspapers were bound:

1. South Carolina Gazette, 4 vols., 1731-1775.
2. South Carolina Gazette and Country Journal, 1722-1787.
3. South Carolina Gazette and American Gazette, 1766-1780.
4. City Gazette and Daily Advertiser, 1789-1794.
5. State Gazette of South Carolina, 1785-1795.

The following typewritten copies of manuscripts were bound:

1. Hayes' Collection, 1748-1806.
2. William Polk Papers, 1758-1834.
3. Emmett Collection,[1] 1757-1847.
4. Crittenden Papers,[2] 1827-1863.
5. Van Buren Papers,[3] 1824-1858.
6. A. D. Murphey Papers, 1805-1852.
7. Minutes of St. Paul's Vestry, 1715-1800.

[1]Letters to or from North Carolinians in the Emmett Collection, N. Y. Public Library.
[2]Letters to or from North Carolinians in the Crittenden Papers, Library of Congress.
[3]Letters to or from North Carolinians in the VanBuren Papers, Library of Congress.

We also received from the Governor's office and had bound "The Minutes of the Commission on Constitutional Amendments, 1913."

During the past year the Historical Commission published:

1. Bulletin No. 21.—The Sixth Biennial Report of the North Carolina Historical Commission, 1914-1916.
2. Bulletin No. 22.—Proceedings of the Seventeenth Annual Session of the State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina, 1916.
3. North Carolina Manual, 1917.

The Legislature of 1917 passed the following act providing funds by which the North Carolina Historical Commission could mark historic sites in North Carolina:

Whereas the State of North Carolina, being one of the thirteen original colonies, is rich in historical incidents and places which are unmarked by suitable memorials: Therefore,

The General Assembly of North Carolina do enact:

Section 1. That, for the purpose of carrying out the objects of this act, the sum of two thousand five hundred dollars a year for the succeeding two years from the ratification of this act is hereby appropriated out of the funds in the hands of the State Treasurer not otherwise appropriated.

Sec. 2. That, upon order of the North Carolina Historical Commission, the State Auditor is hereby empowered and directed to draw his warrant for said sum upon the State Treasurer: *Provided*, that a sum not to exceed one hundred dollars be spent for any one marker, and that so far as possible the money hereby appropriated shall be equitably distributed in the various counties of the State; and *Provided further*, that no sum shall be spent by the said Historical Commission for the purpose of carrying out this act unless and until it be notified that the county commissioners or private citizens of any county applying for a sum have donated an equal sum. The sites to be marked are to be selected or approved by the said Commission: *Provided*, that five hundred dollars of the amount herein appropriated may be used for the purpose of marking the birthplace of President Andrew Jackson, in Union County, when a like amount shall have been raised by private subscription or otherwise.

Sec. 3. That the boards of county commissioners of the various counties of the State are hereby authorized to donate such sums as are required to assist in the work provided for herein.

Under this act, the Historical Commission has made provisions for the following markers:

1. Virginia Dare Memorial on Roanoke Island. Through the Roanoke Island Memorial Association.
2. Battle of Charlotte. Through the Battle of Charlotte Chapter, D. A. R.
3. Battle of South-West Creek. Through the A. M. Waddell Chapter, U. D. C., Kinston.
4. Bath. Through the County Commissioners of Beaufort County.

5. Pisgah National Park. Through a committee of the Southern Forestry Association.

6. Grave of Governor Benjamin Smith. Through Grand Lodge of Masons.

7. Battle of Sugar Creek. Through the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence Chapter, D. A. R.

8. Grave of Governor Richard Caswell. Through a local committee of Kinston.

9. Five markers at Salem. Through the Wachovia Historical Society.

10. Twenty markers on the Cape Fear. Through the New Hanover County Historical Commission.

11. Houses in which General J. Johnston Pettigrew and General Stephen D. Ramseur died. Through the North Carolina Division, U. D. C.

12. Buck Springs, home of Nathaniel Macon. Through the Macon Community Association, Macon, N. C.

13. J. R. McConnell Memorial. Through a local committee of Carthage, N. C.

Since the declaration of war against Germany, the Historical Commission has made special efforts to collect material bearing on North Carolina's part in the war. Such material embraces:

War proclamations, circulars, notices, etc., issued by mayors, sheriffs, local exemption boards, and other public officials and boards.

Records of the war activities of local food, fuel, Liberty Loan, War Savings committees, councils of defence, Red Cross, Y. M. C. A., etc.

Material showing the effects of the war on transportation, manufacturing, agriculture, trade, etc.

Circulars, letters, advertisements, resolutions, etc., illustrating, or intended to influence, public opinion on war questions.

Photographs of local events, bodies of troops, individual soldiers, military camps, Red Cross workers, etc.

Letters from those in the military and naval service.

Clippings from local papers relative to war activities.

These efforts promise to be successful. The State Council of Defense, most of the County Councils of Defense, many Red Cross Chapters, the State Food and Fuel Administration, the committees in charge of the sale of Liberty Loans and War Savings Stamps, and other war organizations have promised to preserve their records and (in case of some of them), unless otherwise ordered by the National authorities, at the close of the war to deposit them for permanent preservation with the Historical Commission. It is from such material that the history of the war will ultimately be written.

The State Library

By Alex. J. Feild, *State Librarian*

The State Library appreciates the privilege of making this report to the State's foremost men and women of letters, and welcomes the opportunity it affords. It is peculiarly fitting that this literary agency of the State should enjoy the patronage of your association; and if, through a closer relationship with your members, public interest can be stimulated, it will be a distinct and valuable achievement. It is hoped, therefore, that a report from the State Library will become a permanent feature of your annual meetings and be a potent factor in awakening interest in this feature of public service.

Having but recently become your State Librarian, for the details here given I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to Misses Carrie L. Broughton and Myrtle King, the assistant librarians, to whose courtesy, diligence, and efficiency I take this opportunity of publicly bearing witness. Their experience and familiarity with the details of the work enables them to be of the greatest service to the patrons of the library.

As this is the first report to your Association, a few general facts about the library will not be out of place. It occupies the entire ground floor and part of the basement in the fireproof Administration Building on Fayetteville, Morgan, and Salisbury streets, fronting the Capitol Square. It has a large, well lighted, and comfortable reading-room, which is kept open to the public from 9 o'clock a. m. to 5 o'clock p. m., except on Sundays, legal holidays, and, in the summer months, Saturday afternoons. It is well supplied with daily and weekly newspapers and the leading magazines. There is also a comfortable reading-room for negroes. All of the books and periodicals may be freely used by the public in the reading-rooms, but none may be taken out except by State officials. The library is under the control of the Governor, Secretary of State, and Superintendent of Public Instruction, who are *ex officio* its trustees. The State appropriation for buying new books and periodicals is $500 annually, and the law makes provision for a librarian, two assistant librarians, and a janitor. The library now contains 34,856 volumes in the general library, 6,345 volumes of Government documents, 3,454 volumes of bound newspapers, and 2,017 volumes of bound magazines; a total of 46,672 volumes. Of these, 597 general works, 93 Government documents, 75 bound volumes of newspapers, and 66 bound volumes of magazines have been added during the current year which

expires November 30. Among the books are some that are rare and very valuable, and a great many of them are very useful. But, of course, with the very small appropriation it has been impossible to make the list anything like as complete as it should be.

In this connection it may be worth while to note that many books are acquired by gift. During the year ending November 30, 1916, 269 books were added by purchase and 210 were donated. I believe that even more can be added by gift if the matter is properly presented to those who wish to render the public a service.

Considering its limitations, the library is reasonably well patronized. Quite frequently visitors from a distance come for special research. When the several schools and colleges in Raleigh are in session, it is liberally patronized by their students, while quite a number of the permanent residents of the Capital City make regular use of it. At times as many as 25 or 30 persons may be found in the reading-rooms at the same time. Still there is a feeling, more or less justified by the facts, that the State Library is not fully abreast with the intellectual and material progress of the State and is not rendering the public the service it should. To make it do so will require a decided modification of its plan and scope and a substantial increase of appropriation. Serious study is being given the subject, and it is probable that the next General Assembly will be asked to make some radical change. Suggestions from the membership of this Association will be cordially welcomed.

Over the portals of the great library at Thebes was inscribed "Medicine for the Soul." At first I thought these words were not well chosen and that the legend should have been "Food for the Soul." But experience seems to show that the ancients were wiser than I thought. It seems that a library must be more than a feast spread for the soul to which guests are invited; nor is it quite sufficient to go into the highways and hedges and urge them to come. It is more in the nature of medicine for the soul, which it is the business of the State to administer to those, the greatness of whose need renders them the least willing to receive it. Perhaps, too, this idea should be kept in mind when buying new books for the library. It is not enough to get popular books, for which there are many calls. These should be had, but there should also be gotten the books which the people ought to read, so that even the unwilling patient may receive the proper medicine for his soul.

The Work of the Library Commission

By Mrs. E. R. Blanton, *Secretary*

"We want to start a public library in X—— but we don't know how to go about it, and we shall appreciate any help or information you can give us. Everybody will work for the library if we only know what to do and how to do it."

"How can we secure a Carnegie building?"

"Can you give us the address of the Carnegie Corporation?"

"How much money does it take to run a library?"

"Can the board of aldermen or town commissioners make an appropriation or must an additional tax be levied by vote of the people?"

"What towns in North Carolina have voted a library tax?"

"How many towns in North Carolina have public libraries, and how did they get them?"

"Do you think this is a good time to start the library movement, or would it be better to wait until the war is over?"

These questions have been asked and answered many times during the past year. Much of the preliminary work was done by correspondence, but later, in most instances, the Secretary went to the town, conferred with the leaders of the library movement, and took part in a public meeting. The point is, the questions call for information which those interested must have if the movement is to be successful, and if a strong, permanent and effective library is to be established.

As the movement makes headway other problems arise:

"How do you get the furniture and the books?"

"Have you any plans for library buildings?" Or, "We have only one room for a library; what equipment is absolutely necessary to make a start?"

"Do you know where we can secure a good librarian?"

"Should the library be entirely free, or ought we to charge for the use of books?"

"What are the usual library hours?"

"Do you think the library should be open every day in a town this size?"

These are only a few of the questions that come into the office again and again, month after month, and I think you can readily see how important it is that there should be some reliable source from which the latest and most authoritative information can be secured—that there

should be some agency whose special duty it is to be thoroughly familiar with library history, library practice, and with library conditions in our own State—an agency equipped and ready to give counsel and assistance.

If the public library is an educational institution second only in importance to the public school, and a necessary supplement to the schools, as is now generally recognized, then the Library Commission is rendering a real service to the State in assisting and aiding in the establishment of public libraries.

The Commission also renders assistance to libraries already established, and small libraries especially, which cannot afford the services of a trained librarian, are helped in many ways.

"What is the best encyclopedia to buy for our library?"

"Please send a list of the best reference books which can be purchased for $50."

"What are the best books on the European War, Story telling, the History of music, Compulsory arbitration of industrial disputes, . . . "

"Should our library be kept open on Sunday?"

"What is the class number for books on Airships?"

"What is the best method of filing pamphlets?"

"How can we secure the Government documents a small library ought to have?" etc., etc.

Some of these questions may seem small, if not trivial, but the success of a library may depend on their solution; and it is certainly true that a library can always give better service when the details of administration are properly handled.

But the Library Commission not only renders service to the cities and towns, it also preaches the gospel of good books to country people and actively aids in the dissemination of good literature. If books are a mighty good thing for the city man or woman they are even better for the country people—for the men and women, the young people and the children living in the tiny villages and on remote and isolated farms. And the method employed to provide library facilities for the rural population is the traveling or circulating library.

The circulation of the traveling libraries during the past year indicates how general is the demand. Ninety-two counties were reached by some phase of the traveling library service—the regular traveling library, the debate or some other form of package library, and in most cases by both traveling and package libraries.

It is sometimes hard for those of us who have access to a public library and who know where and how to buy books for ourselves to realize what it would mean to live in the country and to be deprived of all of these

advantages. A letter received recently, and similar letters come in frequently, gives a vivid picture of such conditions, and makes a peculiar appeal to every lover of good books:

"I am so grateful to you for making a chance for me to get some books I am answering at once.

"I not only live on a farm remote from the town and congenial neighbors, but am a mile from the road and R. F. D. box.

"My oldest son is married and lives in another county. My daughter recently married and left me. My youngest child volunteered two hours after war was declared. So you can understand what good reading matter means to me now."

A traveling library is now in that community and our correspondent is acting as librarian. She has also organized a small study club and the literature required is sent as needed. You may be surprised to learn that the subject selected is music—a subject that will bring something into the lives of the members outside of their ordinary everyday experiences, something that will stimulate and develop the æsthetic side of their natures.

PACKAGE LIBRARIES

Any collection of literature sent by mail or express is called a Package Library. The package libraries are intended especially for debaters, club members, farmers, home-makers, teachers, school children, or any one living in the country or in the small towns without public library facilities. The circulation of the package libraries last year was over 50,000.

Debate libraries have the largest circulation of any of the package libraries, having circulated in 85 counties during the year. Collections were available on eighty different subjects, the number of libraries on each subject varying from two collections on those subjects in little demand to thirty-two on those in greatest demand.

Special Package libraries were prepared on Vegetable Gardening and on Food Conservation, and the lists of the books in these collections printed and distributed. Individuals may borrow as many as two books at a time and clubs a collection of ten or twelve volumes.

For two years programs and literature have been sent to women's clubs and to study clubs upon request. In some cases the clubs "register" during the summer or early fall and package libraries consisting of books and magazine articles are forwarded in time for each meeting. In other instances individual members apply for material for their own special papers. Always the women living in the open country or in small towns are given the preference if all applications cannot be filled.

"I live in the country," says a letter written November 15th, "and I have no other source from which to get my information." Such requests are given first consideration.

Two points about the traveling libraries should be explained and probably emphasized. First, no charge is ever made for the loan of any library, traveling or package. The package libraries are sent by parcel post, and the borrower pays the postage both ways, refunding the amount of postage required to send the literature when it is returned. The regular traveling libraries are forwarded by freight, and are sent collect and returned prepaid. Whenever the round trip freight charges on a traveling library exceed $1, the Commission refunds the excess. This equalizes the cost of transportation to borrowers living in the more remote eastern and western counties. Hence the total cost of a traveling library to any community in North Carolina will never be more than 50 cents each way.

The second point to be emphasized is that the traveling library work is not confined to the schools as many people seem to think. The libraries are intended primarily for general community use, and only one-third of the books in a typical collection are children's books. In some cases the proportion is even less.

WORK WITH SCHOOLS

However, the Commission does render special service to schools, but this work, although of the greatest importance, can only be outlined briefly. Many package libraries are lent to schools, not only debate libraries but material for entertainments, story-hours, essays, orations, and speeches. Then this year a few traveling libraries especially for schools have been prepared. These contain books for youngest readers, books for intermediate grades, and books for more advanced students.

Technical advice and information relating to books and libraries are freely given to teachers and superintendents. Lists of books are prepared to meet the special needs of particular schools; suggestions are made for a simple charging system and samples of supplies furnished; and instruction is given on the selection and purchase of books, on the administration and use of the school library, on the arrangement of the books on the shelves, and the hundred and one little details incident to the successful operation of any kind of a library, however small.

There has only been time to explain in detail some of the more important phases of the work of the Library Commission. Possibly the greatest achievement of the past year was the success of the legislative campaign which resulted in the appropriation of the Library Commission being increased to $8,000 annually. The Library Commission of

North Carolina now has the largest appropriation of any Southern state and hence greater opportunities for service.

This service may be summarized as follows: To give counsel and aid to communities in the establishment of new libraries; to succor and supervise libraries already established; to give information on all subjects relating directly or indirectly to books and libraries; and finally, to supply the rural population with library privileges. In other words, to make it possible for every man, woman, and child living in North Carolina to secure good literature—a work in which I am sure the Literary and Historical Association is vitally interested.

North Carolina Bibliography, 1917

By MRS. E. R. BLANTON,
SECRETARY NORTH CAROLINA LIBRARY COMMISSION

This Bibliography covers the period from December 5, 1916, to November 20, 1917; that is, it includes the publications issued from the date of the 1916 meeting of the Literary and Historical Association to the date of the 1917 meeting. Hence the book which was awarded the Patterson Cup in 1917, *The Cycle's Rim,* by Mrs. Dargan, was listed in the Bibliography for 1916 as it appeared early in November of that year.

The term Bibliography is here used to include the works of all native North Carolinians, whether they are now living in the State or elsewhere; and also the work of writers who, although not born in North Carolina, have lived here long enough to become identified with the State.

NEW PUBLICATIONS

ABBREVATIONS AND SYMBOLS: c., copyright; facsim., facsimilies; il., illustrated; p., pages; por., portrait; v., volume. The capital letters, D. O. Q. S. T., refer to the size of the books.

ALDERMAN, Edwin Anderson. Virginia. D.57p. Scribner, 1917. $1.00.
Address delivered at the banquet given by Petersburg, Va., to the President of the United States and the governor of Pennsylvania, May 19, 1909.

ALEXANDER, Julia McGhee. Mothers of great men. D.188 p. Charlotte Observer Print. House, 1916. $1.35.

ASHE, Samuel A., WEEKS, Stephen B., and VAN NOPPEN, C. L. Biographical history of North Carolina, from colonial times to the present. Vol.8,O.por.facism. Van Noppen, 1917. $10.00.

BASSETT, John Spencer. Middle group of American historians. O.324p. Macmillan, 1917. $2.00.
The life and work of the principal historians of the period beginning about 1814 and ending in 1884.

BOYCE, W. Scott. Economic and social history of Chowan County, North Carolina, 1880-1915. (Columbia Univ. studies in history, economics and public law, v. 76, no. 1). O.293p. Longmans, 1917. $3.00; paper, $2.50.

CARROLL, Robert Sproul. Mastery of nervousness based upon self re-education. O.346p. Macmillan, (July) 1917. $2.00.
Dr. Carroll is medical director of the Highland Hospital at Asheville.

Ezekiel, Herbert T., and Lichtenstein, Gaston. History of the Jews of Richmond from 1769 to 1917. O.374p. Richmond, Ezekiel, 1917. $3.00.

Ezekiel is not a North Carolinian but Lichtenstein is.

Goodwin, Adolph, Illustrator. Who's Who in Raleigh; a collection of personal cartoons of the staunch "trees" that make the "oak city." F.136p.il. Raleigh, Commercial Print. Co., 1916.

A collection of cartoons of prominent men of Raleigh.

Hamilton, J. G. deRoulhac, and Hamilton, Mrs. Mary (Thompson). Life of Robert E. Lee for boys and girls. D.209p.por. Houghton, (Oct.) 1917. $1.25.

Harper, William Allen. New layman for the new time; a discussion of principles. Revell, 1917. 75c.

Horne, Herman Harrell. Story-telling, questioning and studying, three school arts. D.181p. Macmillan, (Nov.) 1916. $1.10.

Treats of the art of story-telling, the art of questioning, and the art of studying.

Horne, Herman Harrell. Teacher as artist; an essay in education as an æsthetic process. (Riverside educational monographs.) D.63p. Houghton, 1917. 70c.

Two stimulating essays proving that teaching is a fine art under certain conditions.

Horne, Mrs. Ida Caroline (Harrell). Songs of sentiment; ed. by her son, Herman Harrell Horne. D.155p.por. Neale Pub. Co., 1917. $1.25.

Lichtenstein, Gaston, *see* Ezekiel, Herbert T.

Pearson, Charles Chilton. Readjuster movement in Virginia. (Yale historical publications. Miscellany, v. 4.) O.191p. Yale Univ. Press, (July) 1917. $2.00.

A chapter in the history of Virginia from the Civil War to the first administration of Grover Cleveland, presenting a study of the "Readjuster movement."

Pearson, Thomas Gilbert. Bird study book; colored front., pen and ink drawings by Will Simmons, and 16 photographs. D.258p. Doubleday, (Mar.) 1917. $1.25.

Intended for the beginner rather than the advanced student.

Scherer, James Augustin Brown. Cotton as a world power; a study in the economic interpretation of history. O.452p. Stokes, (Aug.) 1916. $2.00.

From mythological times through 1915.

SCHERER, James Augustin Brown. Japanese crisis. D.148p. Stokes, (Mar.) 1916. 75c.

Should have been listed in the Bibliography of last year but was accidently omitted.

A brief historical survey of Japanese-American relations, devoted primarily to California and the land question.

SHEPHERD, Henry Elliott. Narrative of prison life at Baltimore and Johnson's Island, Ohio. S.22p. Commercial Print. and Stationery Co., 1917. $1.50.

TAYLOR, Hannis. Due process of law and the equal protection of the laws; a treatise based, in the main, on the cases in which the Supreme Court of the United States has granted or denied relief upon the one ground or the other. O.988p. Callaghan & Co., (Oct.) 1917. $9.00.

TOWNSEND, Mrs. Metta Folger. On golden hinges. D.321p. Broadway Pub. Co.; c.1917. $1.50.

WEEKS, Stephen B. History of public school education in Delaware. (U. S. Education Bureau, Bul. 1917, No. 18.) D.181p. Government Printing Office, 1917. Gratis.

WHITSETT, William Thornton. Saber and song; a book of poems. D.156p. Whitsett Institute, (June) 1917. $1.25; leather, $1.50.

WOMBLE, Edgar, Illustrator. North Carolina Senate, 1917, character sketches. Sq.Q.82p.il. Raleigh, Commercial Print. Co., 1917.

Cartoons and character sketches of the members of the Senate of 1917.

EDITIONS AND COMPILATIONS

BASSETT, John Spencer, ed. Correspondence of George Bancroft and Jared Sparks, 1823-1832; ed. by John Spencer Bassett. (Studies in history, v. 2, No. 2.) Smith College, department of history, (Jan.) 1917. Paper.

FOERSTER, Norman and Pierson, William WHATELEY, eds. American ideals. D.326p. Houghton, 1917. $1.25.

FULTON, Maurice Garland, ed. Christmas night in the quarters, and other poems, by Irwin Russell; with an introd. by Joel Chandler Harris and an historical sketch by Maurice Garland Fulton; il. by E. W. Kemble. O.182p. Century, (Oct.) 1917. $2.50.

HENDERSON, Archibald, ed. Prince of Parthia, by Thomas Godfrey; ed. with introduction, historical, biographical, and critical by Archibald Henderson. O.189p.il.por.facism. Little Brown, (Apr.) 1917. $2.50.

KEPHART, Horace, ed. Gold hunters, by J. D. Borthwick; ed. by Horace Kephart. (Outing adventure library.) D.361p. Outing Pub. Co., (Feb.) 1917. $1.00.

Kephart, Horace, ed. Hunting in the Yellowstone, by Dunraven; ed. by Horace Kephart. (Outing adventure library.) D.33p. Outing Pub. Co., (Mar.) 1917. $1.00.

Mims, Edwin, ed. Past and present, by Thomas Carlyle; ed. with introd. and notes by Edward Mims. (Modern student's library.) Scribner, 1917. 75c.

CONTINUATIONS

James Sprunt Historical Publications, published under the direction of the North Carolina Historical Society; ed. by J. G. deRoulhac Hamilton and H. M. Wagstaff. v. 16.

North Carolina Booklet, Jan.-Oct., 1917.

North Carolina Historical Commission. North Carolina manual for the use of members of the General Assembly, session 1917; compiled and edited by R. D. W. Connor. D.452p. Edwards & Broughton, 1917. Gratis.

Studies in Philology, published quarterly by the University of North Carolina. v. 14, Jan.-Oct., 1917. $2.00.

Trinity College. Historical papers. Series 13.

The *South Atlantic Quarterly, Everywoman, North Carolina Education, North Carolina Library Bulletin, Social Service Bulletin,* and the publications of the various colleges and universities have been issued regularly during the year.

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